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PAINTING IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES BETWEEN 1845 AND 1923: AN OVERVIEW

by

©

DIANA CHOWN

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

HISTORY OF ART AND DESIGN

DEPARTMENT OF ART AND DESIGN

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FALL, 1986

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Signed: Diana Chown

PERMANENT ADDRESS:
10935 - 85 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 0W3

Dated: October 14, 1986

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled PAINTING IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES BETWEEN 1845 AND 1923: AN OVERVIEW submitted by DIANA CHOWN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History of Art and Design.

J. Allison Forbes
Supervisor

Date: October 14, 1986

ABSTRACT

Little has been written on the development of landscape painting in western Canada. In this study, information is compiled and conclusions are drawn. It discusses, briefly or in relative depth, paintings of the Canadian Rockies, produced during the 80-year period under consideration, by almost 60 artists. These paintings are placed within the context of the oeuvre of the artists who created them. The artists are discussed under the headings: topographers, amateurs, early professional artists, painters who came west during the hey day of C.P.R. patronage, other visiting painters and resident artists.

Themes which have evolved include: the continuing engagement with the picturesque seen in many paintings of the Rocky Mountains, often accompanied by written portrayals of the mountains as sublime; the influence of landscape photography; and the gradual replacement of English landscape styles with French-derived techniques and sensibilities. Besides these findings, painting in the Canadian Rockies is seen to have developed within a context of nationalism and expansionism. The patronage, particularly related to travel assistance, of the C.P.R. throughout the period is also revealed. The relation to the alpine landscape of the painters who lived in Banff and their situation regarding patronage from outside Alberta is examined, likely for the first time. The study brings together a large body of western Canadian alpine painting and, through isolating the above, as well as other themes, suggests topics for further studies in this area.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

During much of the period, 1845 to 1923, the lure of the Rocky Mountains for landscape painters was strong. Canadian, American, British and French painters came west to paint this most romantic of landscape subjects. For the Canadian public the Rocky Mountains symbolized the nationalistic and expansionist spirit which was prevalent during much of the period. The purposes of this thesis are to provide an overview of painting in the Canadian Rockies during the period as well as the pertinent context in which this painting took place, and to draw conclusions where possible. These conclusions relate to both stylistic and contextural concerns; no claim is made for their definitiveness. It is believed that they lay the groundwork for further studies of Canadian landscape.

The limits of the overview, 1845 to 1923, were determined by the earliest known deliberate attempt to paint the Rockies and by the first visit by members of the Group of Seven. The decision to end the study this way seems appropriate. After the expressive and decorative works of J.E.H. Macdonald and, particularly, the symbolic depictions by Lawren Harris, the subject of the Rockies could never be the same to Canadian painters. With the establishment of modernism in Canada a new assessment of the meaning of landscape painting, including alpine painting, was taking place. This does not mean that all painters were affected by the Group. Painters such as Gissing and Browne continued to depict the mountains as they had before. Another justification for the 1924 closure is the fact that there is significantly more literature available on the period after that date. Unless otherwise stated, the designation, Rocky Mountains, in this case refers to both the Rocky and the Selkirk mountains.

There have been few studies on the subject of alpine painting in western Canada. Lorne Render, in The Mountains and the Sky,[1] has examined some of the paintings in the Glenbow Collection which deal with this subject. Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole also discuss alpine painting in From Desolation to Splendour, Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape[2] and Dennis Reid treats the subject in Our Own Country Canada.[3] Allan Pringle's M.A. thesis, "Artists of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1881-1900,"[4] offers the first in-depth study of the patronage provided by the C.P.R. to landscape artists, many of whom painted in the Rockies. Besides these studies, monographs on individual artists have appeared in the form of biographies, theses or catalogues. The effect of photography on some Rocky Mountain painting is included in Ann Thomas's Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900.[5]

The alpine landscape as painter's subject has undergone marked changes during the course of western European art history. The perception of mountains as objects of awe and wonder is a fairly recent development. Often, mountains were treated sybmolically as dark, contorted mounds in the background of the real subject of the work. They were sometimes employed to symbolize the wild and unpleasant aspects of nature. Influencing such depictions during the Medieval period was the belief that mountains, with their apparent lack of order and symmetry, symbolized God's punishment of the earth for the sin of Adam and Eve. Besides this, Medieval man did not explore mountains and thus had little knowledge of them. Kenneth Clark suggests that the painters of this period "found in [mountains'] arbitrary shapes excellent material in which to display the fantastic rhythms of the late Gothic style."[6] By the late Renaissance, the work of Albrecht Altdorfer and Pieter Breughel in the north and Giovanni Bellini in the south provide examples of the gradual appearance of more naturalistic landscape painting which resulted in depictions of mountains closer to their natural appearance. In the seventeenth century, such naturalistic renderings of mountains are seen in landscape paintings by the artists Claude Lorraine, Nicolas Poussin and Salvator Rosa. For Claude and Poussin, however, they served mainly as background elements in paintings whose focus of interest lay elsewhere, such as in the depiction of Classical myths. Rosa's scenes of wild and dangerous mountain landscapes differed sharply from these painters; his alpine landscapes celebrated the ominous and overwhelming nature of mountains.

Before the eighteenth century, accounts of mountain travel and literary references to mountains tended to stress the dangers as well as the unpleasant appearance of the mountains. John Evelyn's published diaries include his account of crossing the Simplon Pass. Travelling by mule, Evelyn wrote of journeying "through very steepe, craggy and dangerous passages . . ." and of descending "greate Cataracts of Mealted Snow, and other Waters, which made a terrible roaring."[7] Writing of the attitude which is revealed in seventeenth-century literature, Marjorie Nicolson states that mountains, when they were mentioned at all, were considered "deformities of the earth; their peaks frightened the heavens. . . . by their monstrous weight [they] threatened the balance of the earth. They were symbols of warning to ambitious man who aspired too high."[8] The point to be made here is that before the eighteenth century mountains did not evoke in the Christian European the "rapture" or "ecstacy" of emotional response which was to become one of the significant developments in landscape art during the eighteenth century.

Nicolson suggests that the growing knowledge of astronomy with its suggestions of infinity affected this change in perception of mountains. "Awe, compounded of mingled terror and exultation, once reserved for God," she writes, "passed over in the seventeenth century first to an expanded cosmos, then from the macrocosm to the greatest objects in the geocosm--mountains, ocean, desert."[9] This sense of awe towards mountains began to be apparent in literature before the middle of the eighteenth century. Works often cited which relate to mountain perception are the poem, Die Alpen by the Swiss poet, Albrecht von Haller, one of the earliest examples of alpine imagery in literature, and Thomas Gray's letter about his 1739 visit to the French Alps: "Not a precipice, not a torrent, but is pregnant with religion and poetry. There are certain scenes that would awe an atheist into belief."[10] This perception of mountains, with its suggestion of the presence of God in alpine landscape, foreshadows nineteenth-century attitudes toward nature.

By mid-century, objects which produced feelings of awe and terror began to be classified by the rational thinkers of the neo-classical age. Thus the concept of the sublime came to be defined. The best-known study is Edmund Burke's Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, which appeared in 1757. One of Burke's main points is the attribution of pleasure to the beautiful and pain to the sublime. He considered that "the ideas of pain are much more powerful than those which enter on the part of pleasure"[11] and that terror, associated with pain, plays a central part in the emotions associated with the sublime.[12] Burke lists attributes that he considered to be sublime, one of which is "greatness of dimension." However, he asserted that "an hundred yards of even ground will never work such an effect as a tower an hundred yards high, or a rock or mountain of that altitude."[13]

The painters who most exemplified the beautiful and the sublime in landscape painting for the eighteenth century were Claude and Rosa, respectively. Claude became known for his idealized, light-filled landscapes and Rosa, as suggested, for wild and emotionally charged depictions of rugged mountains overshadowed by stormy skies. For the educated in eighteenth-century England, Rosa's name became synonymous with such subjects in nature. Horace Walpole described the Alps in 1739 as "precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa."[14]

Closely related to the sublime in the eighteenth-century understanding and appreciation of nature was the picturesque, a term which has come down to the twentieth century in watered-down form. Originally, the term denoted a pictorial quality as distinct from the sublime which was particularly concerned with emotional response. In

The Picturesque, Christopher Hussey states that the habit of seeing landscape in terms of paintings, particularly by Claude or Salvator Rosa, developed in England during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[15] Towards the end of the century theoretical and practical treatises on the picturesque began to appear. One of the best-known writers of these was Rev. William Gilpin who began publishing descriptive tours for travellers in 1782. Ten years later he published Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty: on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape.[16] Although Monk states that "the very quality . . . that Gilpin sought in nature, was not nature, but an accidental element of art,"[17] Gilpin's emphasis on the pictorial qualities of landscape, rather than on the emotional response to the scene, was an important contribution to the development of landscape painting.

In the Three Essays, Gilpin lists the attributes of a picturesque scene. Roughness, (as opposed to smoothness), variety and contrast are the most important.[18] He emphasizes the foreground in "forming a composition" and adds that figures are merely compositional devices, to be moved around to suit the composition.

Although altered by later influences on landscape painting, the cult of the picturesque played a role in the painting of the Rocky Mountains throughout the period to be discussed. With respect to alpine landscape, Gilpin's compositional rules stated that every view was to be divided into three parts: background, in which mountains and lakes were to be situated; "off-skip," comprising valleys, woods and rivers; and foreground, in which rocks, castles, broken ground or ruins were suitable subjects.[19] Versions of this formula, with rocks and shattered tree stumps replacing castles and ruins, may be seen in depictions of the Rocky Mountains. Gilpin describes mountains as seldom coinciding with the rules of the picturesque. "Rearing its opaqueness against the sky," he writes, "the mountain shows every fault . . . in its delineation."[20]

One of the results of the cult of the picturesque was that by the late eighteenth century certain sites, or 'prospects', in England and Europe came to be considered particularly worthy of attention by tourists and painters alike. Some wealthy English tourists were proficient watercolour painters and others would employ painters on their travels. The picturesque mode of portraying the landscape of travel also interested the great nineteenth-century landscapists of the Romantic period. Andrew Wilton cites Turner's studies of landscape, based on Gilpin's rules, which he undertook before he "found more rewarding masters."[21] Turner also submitted alpine paintings, described by Wilton as picturesque sublime, in the 1790s to the Royal Academy. However, the repetitiveness and lack of originality of picturesque landscapes by less accomplished painters becomes obvious during the nineteenth century. Clark refers with disdain to the depiction of landscape wholly by means of the picturesque formula. Equally, he decries the "stage properties" like "banditti and shaggy fir trees" of the picturesque as borrowed from Rosa's work.[22] This background must be kept in mind in any examination of paintings of the Canadian Rockies during the period under consideration.

Precedents for professional artists travelling to the West to paint the Rocky Mountains may be found in the early Romantic period when the search for sublime scenery led painters to locales full of exotic or dangerous subjects. In the essay, "The Dawn of British Romantic Painting, 1760-1780," Robert Rosenblum cites Burke's Enquiry as being among the influences on British artists and points out the importance of Captain Cook's three voyages to the late eighteenth-century interest "in the search for ever more strange, marvelous and terrifying facts of landscape."[23]

British painters also found sublime landscapes in their own country. James Ward's Gordale Scar of 1811, in the Tate Galley, which portrays a massive, rocky outcropping in Yorkshire, is the epitome of the enormous sublime landscape. Also in England, large paintings of biblical or historical subjects set in cataclysmic alpine landscapes were produced by John Martin (1789-1854). Martin's epic paintings have been related to panoramas and dioramas in their "attempts to establish sublime documentary values in narrative entertainment."[24] On the continent, sublime landscapes also began to appear by the middle of the eighteenth century. Switzerland produced Caspar Wolf who painted the Alps, followed by François Diday and Alexandre Calame.[25] By the early nineteenth century in Germany, Caspar David Friedrich produced paintings which expressed the stillness and majesty of the alpine landscape. Robert Rosemblum suggests that Friedrich represents the "obverse side of the romantic coin--stillness, sparseness and purity."[26] This aspect of Friedrich relates him to the Swiss painter, Ferdinand Hodler, who painted simplified, timeless alpine landscapes in the early twentieth century. In Scandinavia, the symbolic alpine landscapes of Harald Sohlberg and Jens Ferdinand

Willumsen of the late 1890s and early 1900s also stand within this tradition.[27] Of relevance to Canadian art history is the fact that paintings by the latter two artists were included in the 1913 exhibition of Scandinavian art in Buffalo, New York, and were influential on the work of some members of the Group of Seven.[28]

Accompanying nineteenth-century depictions of landscape by painters was a growing perception of nature as revelatory of the hand of God. This Victorian perception of a deified landscape related to the works of Wordsworth and Ruskin and became widely apparent in Britain during the late eighteenth century and during the early nineteenth century in the United States. In Victorian Canada, Carl Berger points out that to be a thoughtful Canadian citizen of the time was to see nature as "the handiwork of God and its patterns and operations [as disclosing] His wisdom, power and goodness."[29]

Not only poets, painters and travellers were attracted to mountains in the nineteenth century. Alpinism, an article written late in the century points out, was "the rage" in the United States, as it had been in Britain since mid-century, and mountaineering was considered to provide "renewed vigour . . . for body and mind."[30]

The interest in mountains as evidence of profound geological changes and transformations is seen in much nineteenth-century writing. Near the turn of the century, geological studies began to appear more frequently and soon proved that the earth was older than previous biblically-based theories had maintained. The appearance of Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859) with its implicit challenge of biblical beliefs of creation provided a continuous source of controversy among scientists.

Ruskin refused to accept many of Darwin's theories, preferring to concentrate rather on the revelation of God's presence in nature than on the question of how such species had developed.[31] His extraordinary interest in mountains is revealed in Modern Painters. He held a typically Romantic attitude to the vast and majestic in nature besides seeing mountains as objects of religious significance. In a typical statement, he described them as "cathedrals of the earth, with their . . . choirs of stream and stone, altars of snow, and vaults of purple traversed by the continual stars."[32] He also wrote of geology as it relates to mountains and examined the effects of a mountain environment on the lives of men.

Ruskin praised Turner for his observation of nature and his ability to transcend these observations in his art, a theme traceable throughout his art criticism. Discussing Turner's paintings of the Alps, he both praises the painter for having "drawn his mountains rightly, long before their structure was known to any geologist,"[33] and extols his depiction of the Valley of Chamonix by stating that "there [were] not such mountains at Chamouni [sic]; they are ghosts of eternal mountains, such as have been, and shall be, for evermore."[34] Besides acclaiming such "eternal" alpine landscapes of Turner, Ruskin (and the Pre-Raphaelite doctrine) also influenced painters such as John Brett, who painted the Swiss Alps in the 1850s. Brett's intensely realistic The Glacier of Rosenlaui, of 1856 (Tate Gallery, London) has been described as a result of the artist's intention to illustrate the recent theory of glaciation.[35] This Pre-Raphaelite realism, combined with a merging of science and art, was not frequently seen in British landscape painting after the 1850s, but serves to further illustrate the influence of Ruskin on alpine painting.

In the United States, the widely read writings of Ruskin seem to have reinforced American perceptions of the alpine landscape of the West as possessing religious significance. This way of seeing the West partly explains the number of landscape painters who accompanied the western surveys in the United States. Among writers, Barbara Novak states, "the idea of the West as a 'natural church' occurs repeatedly,"[36] and it was mountains which most often evoked this response. Walt Whitman wrote of the Rockies as he was leaving Denver, Colorado, "emanating a beauty, terror, power" that was "more than Dante or Angelo ever knew."[37] American painters like Albert Bierstadt, whose work in the Canadian Rockies will be discussed, and Thomas Moran were strongly attracted to the landscape of the American Rockies.

In Canada, less study of the attitudes toward nature of landscape painters and writers has taken place. Certainly, most landscape painters would have read, or been aware of, some of the views of Ruskin. His ideas are apparent in letters and writings of some Canadian painters.[38] Like all inhabitants of Victorian Canada, landscape painters would have been the recipients, as Carl Berger points out, of "transplanted British civilization overseas."[39] The perception of God in nature in Canadian writing has been the subject of a few studies. In "Three ideas of nature in Canada, 1893-1914," George Altmeyer suggests that in an age of religious uncertainty Canadian poets "alleviated their spiritual anxiety by employing Nature as a medium for communing with Deity."[40] Bliss Carman's "Vestigia" seems to illustrate this.[41] To exemplify the divine aspect of mountains, Altmeyer turns to mountain climbers. Canadian alpine climbers, he maintains, express "most clearly the idea that Nature was God's Temple."[42] An article in the first issue of the Canadian Alpine Club Journal "urged Canadians to become mountain climbers so that they might stand 'face to face with Infinitude'."[43] Another climber, further illustrating the spiritual quality of mountains, asked "Do you not hear the Gospel of Nature preached anew from these perfect hills?"[44] The inspiration of the Rockies can be found as well in published journals written by participants in expeditions to the Rockies. After first sighting the Rockies, George M. Grant, secretary to the Sandford Fleming expedition of 1872, wrote that "mountains elevate the mind, and give an inspiration of courage and dignity to those hardy races who own them, and who breathe their atmosphere."[45]

The fact that Grant refers to 'owning' mountains recalls the climate of expansionism and nationalism that was prevalent in Canada after Confederation. Expansionism, which Doug Owram refers to as "an irrestible force,"[46] pervaded all areas of Canadian life. The railway may be seen as a material manifestation of this force. Writing of this expansionist spirit, Northrop Frye suggests that "in the United States, exploration and the building of railways have naturally been of central importance in the imagination of the country. In Canada they have been obsessive."[47] This imaginative element of expansion affected landscape painters of the Rockies indirectly through the pervasive fascination for Canada's West, and directly, by the support provided by the C.P.R. to landscape painters.

The first known depictions of the Canadian Rockies are ink and wash sketches by David Thompson, c.1810, in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. One of them, No. 2, Nelson's Mountains South, depicts the mountains in a stylized and topographical mode and is not a typical picturesque view. Thompson first mapped the Rockies in 1807 and his early written accounts of surveys for the Hudson's Bay and North West companies include descriptions of the mountains which suggest the perceptions of a man unendowed with the eighteenth-century language of the sublime.[48]

In his pioneer work, Painting in Canada, a History (1966), the late J. Russell Harper claimed that "Kane, Hind, Armstrong, and Verner all were lured to the Prairies and the Rockies beyond, and painted the west before railways made it an open book. The romantic aura conjured up by Indians and the unknown spaces worked like a powerful magnet. Buffalo herds, plains Indians, and wild mountain scenery were exciting beyond the wildest stretch of the imagination."[49] By providing a further development of this theme as it relates to the "wild mountain scenery," this study will endeavour to broaden our understanding of the development of Canadian landscape painting.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

[1] Lorne Render, The Mountains and the Sky (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute; McClelland & Stewart West, 1974).

[2] Maria Tipppett and Douglas Cole, From Desolation to Splendour, Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1977).

[3] Dennis Reid, "Our Own Country," Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada; National Museums of Canada, 1979).

[4] Donald Allan Pringle, "Artists of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, 1881-1900," M.A. thesis, Concordia Univ., Montreal, 1984.

[5] Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900, exhibition catalogue, text by Ann Thomas (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979).

[6] Kenneth Clark, Landscape into Art (1949; rpt. Boston: Beacon, 1963), p. 11. For early religious attitudes towards mountains, see Marjorie Hope Nicolson, chap. 2: "The Theological Dilemma," in Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1959). Nicolson is dealing primarily with the subject as it evolved in Britain.

[7] Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), II, pp. 208-9 and 507-11; as quoted in Nicolson, pp. 61-2.

[8] Nicolson, pp. 34-5.

[9] Ibid., p. 143.

[10] Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton, ed. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1915), I, pp. 247 and 244; as quoted in Samuel H. Monk, The Sublime, A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII - Century England (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1935), p. 211.

[11] Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, with an Introductory Discourse concerning Taste, and several other Additions, 2nd. ed. (London, 1759; rpt. New York: Garland, 1971), p. 59.

[12] See James Ward's Gordale Scar, An Essay in the Sublime, exhibition catalogue, text by Edward J. Nygren (London: The Tate Gallery, 1982).

[13] Burke, p. 27.

[14] Correspondence; as quoted in Monk, p. 211.

[15] Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View (London: Putnam, 1927), p. 84.

[16] William Gilpin, A.M., Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape; to which is added a poem on Landscape Painting, 2nd. ed. (London, 1792; rpt. Farnborough, England: Gregg International, 1972).

[17] Monk, p. 223.

[18] Gilpin, Three Essays, p. 20.

[19] William Gilpin, Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty Made in the Year 1772, on several Parts of England; Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland (London, 1786); as quoted in Hussey, p. 116.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Turner and the Sublime, exhibition catalogue, text by Andrew Wilton (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 33.

[22] Clark, pp. 52-3.

[23] Robert Rosenblum, "The Dawn of British Romantic Painting, 1760-1780," in The Varied Pattern: Studies in the 18th Century, eds. Peter Hughes and David Williams (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1971), pp. 193-4. William Hodges, a student of Richard Wilson, accompanied the second voyage to Tahiti and other areas of the "South Seas" in 1775-7. He subsequently introduced new themes into western painting, according to Rosenblum.

[24] William Feaver, The Art of John Martin (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), p. 69. Gustave Doré also produced paintings which suggest the "showmanship" of Martin. Doré's extremely large (20' x 30') paintings of religious subjects were praised by H.J. de Forest, (who is discussed in Chapter IV of this study) when he saw them in New York in 1893. (H.J. de Forest Diary, Glenbow Museum). They had been shipped there from the Doré Gallery in London where they had been viewed by thousands of visitors to the gallery every year for more than twenty years.

[25] See "Alexandre Calame," Palette, No. 40 (1972), pp. 2-15.

[26] Robert Rosenblum, Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 121.

[27] See Roald Nasgaard, *The Mystic North, Symbolist Landscape Painting in Northern Europe and North America, 1890-1940* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984).

[28] *Ibid*., pp. 158-97.

[29] Carl Berger, *Science, Good, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. xii-xiii.

[30] Edmund Kimball Alden, "Mountains and History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1894* (Washinton: Government Printing Office, 1895).

[31] See John Ruskin, "Darwinism," in *The Eagle's Nest*, 1872; as quoted in *The Art Criticism of John Ruskin*, ed. Robert L. Herbert (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), pp. 28-9.

[32] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, IV, Pt. 5, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, Library Edition, eds. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904), VI, p. 425.

[33] Ruskin, *The Eagle's Nest*, pp. 210-4; 219-21; as quoted in *The Art Criticism of John Ruskin*, pp. 25-7.

[34] *Ibid*.

[35] Kenneth Bendiner, "John Brett (1831-1902), *The Glacier of Rosenlaui*," in *An Introduction to Victorian Painting* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985), pp. 47-50.

[36] Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), p. 151.

[37] Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days* (1882; rpt. New York: New American Library, 1961), p. 197.

[38] Ruskin's publications are referred to, for example, by Robert Harris. (Moncrieff Williamson, *Robert Harris, 1849-1919, An Unconventional Biography* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970], pp. xii, 12, 90).

[39] Carl Berger, pp. xii-xiii.

[40] George Altmeyer, "Three ideas of nature in Canada, 1893-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XI, No. 3 (Aug. 1976), p. 33. The other two ideas of nature cited by Altmeyer are "Nature as a Benevolent Mother" and "Nature as a Limited Storehouse."

[41] "I took a day to search for God,/ And found Him not, But as I trod/ By rocky ledge, through woods untamed,/ Just where on scarlet

lily flamed,/ I saw His footprint in the sod." (Bliss Carman, "Vestigia," 1921, in *Canadian Anthology*, C.F. Klinck and R.E. Waters, eds. [Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1966], p. 119).

[42] Altmeyer, p. 31.

[43] Elizabeth Parker, "The Alpine Club of Canada," *Canadian Alpine Club Journal* (1907); as quoted in Altmeyer, p. 31.

[44] Julia Henshaw, "A Summer Holiday in the Rockies," *Canadian Magazine*, XX (Nov. 1902), pp. 3-4; as quoted in Altmeyer, p. 31.

[45] George M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean, Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872* (1873; rpt. Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada, 1925), p. 251.

[46] Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1980).

[47] Northrop Frye, "Sharing the Continent," in *Divisions on a Ground, Essays on Canadian Culture* (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), p. 59.

[48] See I.S. MacLaren, "David Thompson's Imaginative Mapping of the Canadian Northwest, 1784-1812," *Ariel*, 15, No. 2 (April 1984), pp. 89-106. MacLaren writes that Thompson's descriptions of the landscape of the Northwest were "not conventional in terms of the Sublime and the Picturesque" and cites Thompson's determination to be scientifically accurate in his descriptions.

[49] J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada, a History* (1966; 2nd ed. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 118.

Chapter II

AMATEUR ARTISTS IN THE ROCKIES, AND PROFESSIONAL ARTISTS BEFORE THE RAILWAY ERA

Introduction

Many of the artists to be discussed in the following chapter painted in the Canadian Rocky Mountains during the pre-railway era. They include amateur and topographical artists who came to the West before and immediately after the area became accessible by rail, and professional artists who painted in the Rockies well before the arrival of the railway. Of the professional artists, it is likely that only Paul Kane and William Hind came west. William Armstrong probably never visited the Rockies, but relied on photographs and other artists' work.

Expedition Amateurs

Expeditions travelling to the West in the United States and Canada often included men who could sketch and paint in watercolour. Whereas in the United States these amateur artists frequently held positions as official artists, in Canada they usually did not. The expeditions referred to in this chapter took place between 1845 and 1874. Three related to the delineation of the United States-British North American boundary, and the other to the establishment of the North West Mounted Police. The reasons for their presence in the West often affected the way in which the artists painted the landscape. For example, the fact that Henry J. Warre seems to have had few specific requirements placed on him to record the topography suggests that he was free to paint as he wished. In contrast, James Alden travelled, with fairly strict topographical guidelines, as the official artist with an American government expedition.

Henry J. Warre (1819-1898) was in the Rockies in the 1840s, due to the British government's desire to prevent the United States from establishing control in the area known as the Oregon Territory. In 1845, Warre was one of the two British officers who, posing as sportsmen, were sent to the area to investigate the possibility of British troop deployment. The British and American governments eventually agreed on the forty-ninth parallel as the border in the Oregon Territory although the agreement took place before the submission of reports by Warre and his associate.

Warre, who was an amateur artist of some ability by 1845, had been educated at Royal Military College, Sandhurst, England, the curriculum of which included landscape and military drawing.[1] The fact that, by 1804, an instructor known only as "junior drawing master" existed at the college suggests that varying degrees of drawing were taught.[2] In Painting During the Colonial Period in British Columbia, 1845-1871, Helen Bergen Peters suggests that The Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance, published in 1903, provides a means of ascertaining the kind of drawing and painting instruction that was given at British military academies during much of the nineteenth century. She cites a similarity between The Manual and an outline of the course taught at Woolwich Academy in 1772. According to Peters, students were taught to start with an outline sketch and to add shading only in the foreground. This latter directive was likely influenced by picturesque conventions. The location from which the sketch was drawn and the point of the compass which the draughtsman was facing would be written on it. Colour was added to the finished sketch, pencil lines were partly rubbed out and all detail was inked in.[3]

Following his military training, Warre spent time studying the pictures in the Louvre.[4] Between 1839 and 1846, he served as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Sir Richard Downes Jackson, Commander of the Forces in British North America. During this period he undertook the reconnaissance mission to the Oregon Territory. As to the 1845 mission, Warre's instructions made no mention of sketches or drawings.[5] A study which examines the Hudson's Bay Company's patronage of Warre and other artists points out that these skills were expected of British military officers and that no evidence has been found to suggest that artistic ability was a criterion for Warre's selection.[6]

Escorted for part of the way by Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Warre and his fellow officer, Lieutenant Vavasour, travelled from Montreal via the established Hudson's Bay Company fur trade routes. As Susan Stewart points out, following this itinerary meant that Warre sketched many of the same scenes as other artists travelling with the Company.[7] Both Warre and Paul Kane, for example, painted the boat encampment on the Columbia River possibly within months of each other.

Warre's impression of the Rockies, as outlined in Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory,[8] was no doubt tempered by the difficult conditions encountered during the crossing, undertaken most likely at Whiteman's Pass, south-west of Canmore. He seemed both awed by the visual effect and overwhelmed by the isolation and the hardship. "The scenery was grand in the extreme," he wrote, "similar in form to the Alps of Switzerland, you felt that you were in the midst of desolation: no habitation save those of the wild Indians, were within hundreds of miles."[9] A perception of the mountain landscape as sublime, seems to be suggested here by such words as "grand" and "desolation."

Warre's watercolour, Camp in the Rocky Mountains, July 26, 1845 (Plate 1), Royal Ontario Museum, although primarily a picturesque composition, suggests the effect of the rocky starkness of the mountains on the small group of figures beneath them. Warre's journal entry for the day notes that, "we camped on another small prairie completely surrounded by or imbedded in the Mountains."[10] The unusual inward tilting of elements, particularly the trees, is used by Warre in other works. The rough areas of rocks and shrubs in the foreground silhouetted against the middle ground suggest Gilpin's description of a correct picturesque foreground. To the left, a blasted tree serves as a side-screen. A lithograph appears in Sketches which was likely based on this work.

On his return to England, Warre, possibly influenced by William Henry Bartlett's Canadian Scenery Illustrated of 1842,[11] published Sketches, illustrated by sketches from the Oregon mission. Thus, what was probably the first travel book of the area depicted the Canadian West in the picturesque conventions of early nineteenth-century pictorial art.

Another expedition, the 1857-1860 British-sponsored Palliser expedition,[12] likely resulted in sketches of the Rockies. John Palliser apparently produced sketches (as yet unlocated), of the mountains at this time. A watercolour by William Armstrong, to be discussed in this chapter, is cited as being after a sketch by Palliser.

It is interesting to contrast the participation of artists in expeditions in Canada and in the United States, where artists had been officially included in government expeditions since the early part of the century. In British North America, the early expeditions of the British Admiralty included artist/officers but by 1845, when government-sponsored expeditions were sent out, artists were not officially part of the parties. As noted, Warre was not an official artist. The exception seems to have been the Canadian government-sponsored Hind expeditions of the late 1850s and early 1860s, to be mentioned later in this chapter. The subject of American artists' participation in expeditions to the Rocky Mountains is included in The Rocky Mountains, A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century, by Patricia Trenton and Peter H. Hassrick.[13] According to the authors, the practice of including artists in government expeditions continued until the 1870s, at least. They refer to one of the volumes in a 12-volume illustrated report of an expedition of the 1850s as "one of the most beautiful and imposing books produced in mid nineteenth-century America."[14]

Two other expeditions through the Canadian Rockies in the mid nineteenth century included artists. They were the American and British teams of the joint boundary survey of 1858. James M. Alden (1834-1922) was travelling as the official artist with the American team and his counterpart, Charles Wilson (1836-1905), merely sketched for his own pleasure.

Alden learned to draw while stationed with the United States Coast Survey. He also studied with Thomas Seer Cummings (1804-1899), an English-born artist who was known for miniatures and portraits. The overstressing of detail in Alden's work is certainly related to his topographical training with the Survey which stressed "accuracy to the finest detail."[15]

In 1858 Alden was appointed the 'Official Artist' on the Northwest Boundary Survey, which was to survey the boundary from the Pacific Ocean to the Continental Divide. Another artist, William McMurtrie, was also part of the survey party but his duties seemed to have been limited to draughting. By October 1860, the third season of the survey, the party completed its task by reaching the Continental Divide. Alden sketched views from this spot looking east and west along the boundary. Both contain an undulating line in depicting the mountains, rather than a jagged line of peaks which would suggest their overwhelming nature. The topographical nature of the scenes, devoid of picturesque devices, contrast strongly with the work of Henry Warre. The view facing west is titled View from Monument at Summit Looking W. Along 49th Parallel. Highest Peak Kintla Range Bears S.35 W (Plate 2), in the National Archives, Washington, D.C. The painting, which depicts a virtual sea of peaks, seems unique among early western topographical works. A limited range of brown and blue hues is used to unify the whole and provide depth while, as would be expected in the work of an official topographer, details are highlighted. The outbreak of civil war in the United States may account for the fact that Alden's Boundary

Commission works were never published.[16]

Charles Wilson was in the Rocky Mountains a year later than Alden; his few watercolours of mountain subjects are included in diaries.[17] Wilson's military training took place at the Royal Engineer Establishment at Chatham, England, where art instruction seems to have been limited to architectural and topographical drawing.[18]

Wilson, the Boundary Commission's Secretary and Transport Officer, produced several small watercolours in and near the Rockies. The fact that they are the least accomplished of the group of topographical watercolours examined in this chapter, points to the lack of watercolour training provided to Royal Engineers. A sketch, titled Boundary Pass, view from the summit looking east, July 29, 1861 (Plate 3), depicts the view, presumably from near the marker of the boundary at the Continental Divide. This pass is likely the present-day South Kootenay Pass. Unlike Alden's view from the summit with its high vantage point and sea of peaks, Wilson's is more enclosed, peering through the mountain pass. He seemed to prefer the foothills to the mountains and his attitude suggests an earlier perception of mountain landscape. In his diary, he described the view as intimidating: "They are well called the Rocky mountains, . . . being rugged peaks of bare rock of all shapes and sizes and many of them seem inaccessible. . . ."[19]

The 1860s, as John Warkentin points out, "was a period in which little new information was gathered about the Western Interior of Canada."[20] Once Confederation had taken place and the British garrisons had withdrawn (along with trained amateur artists like

Warre), with few exceptions, photography became the means of obtaining visual records for government expeditions. For example, the joint survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Geological Survey of Canada of 1871 employed two photographers, Benjamin Baltzly and John Hammond.

Richard B. Nevitt (1850-1928), the last expedition artist to be discussed, accompanied the march west which established the first contingent of 'Mounties' at Fort Macleod in 1874. His drawings and watercolours from this period, of which mountain subjects form a small percentage, depict Indian scenes and life at the post as well as landscape subjects in southern Alberta. Born in Georgia, U.S.A., Nevitt was sent to Canada in 1865 as a student to escape the Civil War. In Toronto, he attended Trinity College where he may have received drawing and watercolour instruction.[21] After obtaining a medical degree in 1874 in Toronto, Nevitt joined the North West Mounted Police and was assigned a position as surgeon with the contingent about to leave for the West. He returned to Toronto four years later and eventually became dean of the Women's Medical College and continued to paint as an amateur.

Unlike Charles Wilson before him, Nevitt relished the sight of the Rockies, although he spent little time among them. For the most part, his alpine perceptions were those of a distant viewer. He wrote that

> We have passed through a country dry, desolate and barren, a very Sahara . . . [and] are just near the base of the Rocky Mountains; their snow-capped summits rise up to our left in jagged, rough peaks; the sun sinks behind them every night in one blaze of glory, making the most glorious sunsets that I have ever seen.[22]

Nevitt must also be mentioned as a source of visual records of the early Fort Macleod post. Some of his work was transposed into photographs. Although field photography had first occurred almost 20 years earlier, the police detachment at Fort Macleod apparently did not have photographic equipment, at least during the first year of its existence. In February 1875, Nevitt wrote that he had taken "another sketch of the exterior of the fort for Col. Macleod; he is going to send it to his sister, Mrs. Baldwin, to have it photographed."[23]

One of Nevitt's watercolours of a distant view of the mountains is Rocky Mountains from Fort Calgary (Plate 4), in the Glenbow Museum. Nevitt reveals a facility with loose watercolour washes. This ability, as well as the use of framing devices and scant drawing, suggests that he had received some art training. The softly washed in mountains in the background are stylistically similar to depictions of the Rockies by later English watercolour painters such as A.C. Leighton. Unlike Warre, whose small watercolour suggests sublime aspects of the landscape, Nevitt's visual and his literary interpretation of the mountains are distinctly different. Whereas his painting depicts the Rockies as merely elements in a pleasant watercolour view, his written references to them suggest their sublime associations. This discrepancy is revealed in his letter which accompanied this, or a similar work in the Canadian Illustrated News in 1881.[24] In the letter, Nevitt described the Rockies in typical nineteenth-century language, referring to their "snow-capped summits" which "appear to pierce the empyrean and possibly supply the 'Fountains of eternal peace'."[25] As will be seen, this contrast between visual and literary conceptions of mountains, often resulting in picturesque depiction beside sublime description, is seen throughout the period under consideration.

Early Amateurs--Travellers, Surveyors and Others

Some of the amateur painters who visited the Rockies during the nineteenth century are representative of the British traveller's fondness for picturesque and sublime scenery. As an ever enlarging number of Britons took European tours arranged by entrepreneurs like Thomas Cook, young members of the upper classes who were bored with Victorian bourgeois England developed tastes for more exotic countries and those considered dangerous and adventurous. As Irene Spry points out, the impetus for John Palliser's journey to the West came about in this way.[26] These elite travellers, like expedition artists such as Warre, sometimes published accounts of their travels, accompanied by their own sketches or those purchased from others.

Three of these early adventurers who published illustrated accounts of their travels through the Rocky Mountains were Lord Milton, Dr. Walter Cheadle and the Earl of Southesk.[27] Southesk was an amateur painter while Cheadle and Milton may have relied entirely on outside sources--photographs and works by other artists--for their illustrations. Unfortunately, the original sketches for these publications have not been located but the illustrations provide some idea of their conception and composition. Milton and Cheadle crossed the Rocky Mountains at the Yellowhead Pass during the summer of 1863 and soon arrived in Victoria where they bought sketches from Frederick

Whymper,[28] an English watercolourist and illustrator, and possibly from William G.R. Hind. An illustration, View from the hill opposite Jasper House (Plate 5), closely resembles both Hind's Leather Pass, Rocky Mountains, in the McCord Museum, and Jasper's House (Plate 13).

The Earl of Southesk, who arrived in Canada in 1859, had, like Warre, trained at Sandhurst. Before his departure to the West he met Paul Kane in Toronto and was familiar with Kane's Wanderings of an Artist. Southesk wrote expansively of the sublime effects of the Rockies. He described being overwhelmed by "the sudden freedom of an open sky bounded only by magnificent mountain-forms." "I trembled all over," he wrote, "my limbs lost their strength, I could hardly sit on my horse."[29] The engraved illustrations in the book, which are from Southesk's own sketches, are typical alpine 'views' and contain little suggestion of the Rockies as sublime landscape. They are often awkward with mountains reduced in scale and suggest that Southesk's Sandhurst training was not as effective as Warre's.

An amateur painter and mountaineer whose work provides an interesting contrast to the many picturesque scenes produced during the period, was William Spotswood Green (1847-1918). Provided with assistance from the C.P.R., Green visited the area presumably in 1888. He published an account of his explorations, illustrated by his own (unlocated) sketches and photographs taken by his companion.[30] Among his contributions were the sketches for the illustrations of areas high up among the glaciers. The subjects do not lend themselves to picturesque arrangements and the artist, who seems to have a taste for the sublime, provides suggestions of the overwhelming nature of the subject through the use of strong contrast and small figures which suggest man's insignificance among the grandeur of nature, a typical element of sublime mountain landscapes.

After the railway reached the West, some of the Governors-General of Canada and their wives sketched in the Rockies and produced illustrated travel books which included the area. Lord Lorne, whose term of office lasted from 1878 to 1883, published Canadian Pictures (1885) which included illustrations from his own sketches.[31] His wife, Princess Louise, was also an amateur artist. Lady Aberdeen, whose husband was the Governor-General between 1893 and 1898, also sketched in the Rockies and published an illustrated travel book, Through Canada with a Kodak in 1893. Her first visit to the area was in 1890 during a trip across Canada with her husband. In 1894, the royal couple visited Banff where Lady Aberdeen writes of sketching and taking photographs.[32] A small two-page watercolour sketch, possibly from 1894, from a sketchbook in a private collection, Kelowna, British Columbia, is titled Cascade Mountain (Plate 6). The contours of the mountain suggest that it is actually Mount Rundle. Situating the mountain near the foreground without picturesque conventions distinguishes this watercolour somewhat from other mountain views. It suggests an attempt to capture the overwhelming presence of the mountains as experienced by Lady Aberdeen.

A Canadian-born amateur artist who travelled in the Rockies about this time was Arthur P. Coleman (1852-1939). Although a Canadian and a prominent professional geologist, Coleman can be compared to such adventurers as Cheadle and Southesk not only because of his enthusiasm for mountain scenery and the adventures of mountain climbing, but also for the fact that he published and illustrated a travel book on his experiences in the Rockies.[33] Like William Spotswood Green, he studied the glaciers of the West. His watercolours of the Rockies and Selkirks were a result of the eight summers that he visited the area, from 1884 to 1908. From 1888 on, the C.P.R. "sponsored scientific visits" by Coleman to the Rockies.[34] Thus, it appears that he was assisted by the company because of his scientific, rather than artistic, abilities.

Coleman seems to have been largely self-taught although he received some instruction from Otto Jacobi.[35] Besides the Rockies, he visited other mountains of the world, from Kilimanjaro to the Andes. He became the first director of the Museum of Geology, one of the five museums which amalgamated to form the Royal Ontario Museum in 1912.

In The Canadian Rockies (1912), Coleman records two unsuccessful attempts to climb Mount Robson. He also reveals a distaste for city life, making disparaging remarks about the "army of conquest"[36] as he calls the builders of the C.P.R. and writing of "man, the intruder" in the western Canadian wilderness.[37] His reference to mountains as uplifting and as symbols of God's presence once again reveals the nineteenth-century attitude toward nature. "After years of humdrum city life in the east," he wrote, "the assembly of mountains, lifting their heads serenely among the drifting clouds, gave one a poignant feeling of difference between man's world and God's."[38]

Coleman's descriptions of the mountains reveals a combination of awe and distaste combined with the accurate observation of a geologist. "They were bold and bare to indecency in the midday sun," he wrote, "so that every harsh seam and scar or band of slate or limestone stood out as if just across the river--brown, earthy, almost repulsive." However, he added, remarking on a quality which he seemed to seek out in his watercolours, "in the afternoon, blue and purple shadows began to creep from point to point, till all was soft and ethereal as if fifty miles remote."[39]

A watercolour by Coleman, Mount Robson (Plate 7), in the Glenbow Museum, is likely from 1907 or 1908, the years of his ascent attempts. Its format, foreground of trees and foliage, middle ground of mists with mountain peak rising above in the background, is seen in other paintings during the period. The composition suggests that the artist was trying to stress the size of the mountain, avoiding the picturesque arrangement which saw mountains placed in the background with more foreground and middle distance interest. However, as Coleman wrote, the great height of Mount Robson meant that its peaks were often hidden in cloud.[40]

Other amateur artists came from central Canada to paint in the Rockies during the first years that they were accessible by train.[41] Unlike them, however, was Josephine Crease (1864-1947) who came from the west coast. She may have first visited the mountains in 1910 for she exhibited Rocky Mountain subjects in the Island Arts Club exhibition in 1911.[42]

Crease's father, a British barrister, arrived in British Columbia in 1858. Most of the Crease family knew how to draw and paint in watercolour; Josephine however, was the most prolific. She was instructed in art by Georgina de l'Aubinière, an English artist who lived in Victoria between 1886 and 1888.[43] In 1889 she and her sister, Susan, were sent to England and studied at the Ladies Department of King's College, London. There, she seems to have acquired an academic training which included drawing and painting in monochrome from casts, and life drawing and painting of "figure and costume models."[44]

On her return to Victoria, Crease also studied with the Victoria artist, Sophia Pemberton, who was likely on a visit home from the Kensington School of Art in London where she was then studying. Crease exhibited with the Victoria Fair where artists (including Emily Carr) had begun exhibiting by 1894.[45] She was likely aware of the occasional exhibitions of work by Frederic Bell-Smith during his visits to Victoria.[46]

Crease, president of an early sketch club which existed in Victoria by the turn of the century, was also one of the founding members of the Island Arts Club in 1909.[47] Although watercolours of the Rocky Mountains by her from 1911 have not been located, the Public Archives of British Columbia holds a small watercolour, Mountains (Plate 8) from 1923. It was likely executed in the Rockies, for the following year Crease exhibited paintings of subjects around Banff in the exhibition of the Island Arts and Craft Society (as it became known in 1922). It consists of picturesque foreground details, side-screens of trees and a body of water in the foreground which leads into the background mountains. The loose washes reveal Crease's competency with watercolour, as does the depiction of light and freshness of colour.

A small group of amateur artists who were working as engineers or surveyors for the C.P.R. mountain division in 1884-1885 seems to have formed an amateur sketching group. The best of them, according to P. Turner Bone, a C.P.R. engineer, were Herbert B. Lewis and Henry O. Bell-Irving.[48] Bone later recalled that there

> were a few intinernant photographers who took photos here and there along the route of the railway and one could buy photos from them. But these didn't always happen to be photos of the scenes one particularly wanted. So we developed a taste for sketching; and it was our custom when we paid a visit to a neighbouring engineer's camp on a Sunday, to take our portfolio of sketches with us to submit them for inspection and criticism. . . . Some went in for watercolours, notably Bell-Irving and Lewis. . . .[49]

The sketches by the two artists mentioned have similar elements, such as the use of opaque colour of limited hues and arbitrary, cropped compositions, suggesting a relationship to photography. Bell-Irving (1856-1931) came to Canada in 1883 from Scotland and began to work on the C.P.R. soon after.[50] He later moved to Vancouver where he worked as an architect and businessman. His From Above Stewart's Camp, Tunnel Mountain, 1884 (Plate 9), in the Public Archives of British Columbia, may have been done on one of the Sunday sketching meetings. Its composition, snow-covered mountains in the distance with a rocky foreground, once more suggests picturesque compositional devices. Herbert B. Lewis (dates unknown) came to Canada from Wales and worked on the C.P.R. as a surveyor-engineer[51] until 1888, after which he apparently moved to California. In 1886 he completed a series of 20 watercolours depicting the C.P.R. line as it passed through the

Rockies. Some of the works were purchased by William C. Van Horne, vice-president of the railway, and exhibited at the Colonial Exhibition that year.[52] The purchase was a rare example of C.P.R. interest in an amateur painter. A monochrome watercolour and ink work, of similar composition to Bell-Irving's watercolour, *Mountain Landscape, near Golden, B.C.*, 1886, in the Glenbow Museum, may have been one of these works.

Another railway surveyor who painted in the Rockies was L.A. Hamilton (1852-1941), who later became Land Commissioner for the company. A Canadian, Hamilton graduated from "the School of Military Instruction, Toronto" in 1870 and, in 1872, became the topographer for the Canadian team of the International Boundary Survey.[53] As Land Commissioner, he selected and surveyed sites for towns along the railway, such as Regina, Calgary and Vancouver, where he lived for many years.[54] In 1885, watercolours and photographs of British Columbia scenes along the C.P.R. line by him appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.[55] A watercolour, *Mountain opposite Mt. Stephen*, in the Vancouver City Archives, is a competent work with similarities to the work of the two former artists, such as opaque colour.

Unlike the previous amateur painters, Sara Mary Blake and John D. Curren settled in Alberta. Blake (1864-?) came from Ireland in 1887.[56] A watercolour in the Glenbow Museum, *Falls on the Middle Fork of Old Man's River*, 1889, like that of Nevitt, suggests the benign interpretation of the mountains as seen from a distance. It includes a charming representation of autumn foliage with the Rocky Mountains providing the background. Curren (1852-1940), who was the grandfather of painter Peter Whyte, came from Scotland and settled near Cochrane in 1886.[57] Curren's work is more 'primitive' than English watercolourists like Blake. In 1928, Peter Whyte wrote of his grandfather: "Although he has never studied art, he is quite a painter and has done some rather good things."[58] In an undated painting, Mt. Rundle, Banff (Plate 10), bright hues, associated with primitive painting, portray Mount Rundle which is simplified and placed in the background behind unarticulated areas of rivers and trees. Unlike the visiting amateurs, Curren knew the Banff area well and one senses the affection he felt for the landscape in which he lived for almost 60 years.

Professional Artists Before the C.P.R. Reached the West

The three professional artists to be discussed all lived in Toronto for parts of their lives. Paul Kane, who was born in Ireland, came to Toronto in 1819; William Hind, trained in England, arrived most likely in 1851, the same year that William Armstrong came to the city from Ireland.

Paul Kane (1810-1871) travelled in the Rocky Mountains during his well-known journey across British North America between 1846 and 1848. As his main reason for making the voyage was to record Indian life and customs, landscape subjects did not predominate in his oeuvre.

Kane's artistic training appears to have begun in 1830 in Toronto as a private pupil with Thomas Drury, a landscape artist and drawing master of Upper Canada College.[59] In 1841, he travelled to Europe.

Harper relates that in Rome he copied paintings by Murillo, Andrea del Sarto and Raphael to improve his colouring.[60] In 1842, he visited the London exhibition of George Catlin and soon left London "firmly intending to paint a gallery of Canadian Indians which would be similar to Catlin's of Indians in the United States."[61] Soon after his return occurred his journey across British North America and after its completion he spent the years 1848 to 1859 working up the resulting sketches. In 1859, he published Wanderings of an Artist, based on his western diaries.[62] After 1859 he did little painting.

In the spring of 1846, when the Hudson's Bay Company literally became his patron, Kane left Toronto for the West.[63] He made sketches, most of them Indian portraits or genre scenes, at the Hudson's Bay Company posts and along the way. His description of his first view of the mountains, other than acknowledging that they were sublime, seems almost perfunctory. Like other travellers to the West throughout the period under discussion, he mentions the frequency of forest fires. On October 29th, he wrote that he saw

> for the first time the sublime and apparently endless chain of the Rocky Mountains. The outline was scarcely perceptible in the distance through the intervening smoky atmosphere, which is caused by the almost invariable conflagration of the woods at this season of the year.[64]

In November, Kane's party crossed over the mountains by way of the Athabasca Pass.

Although he stopped at the Boat Encampment after the descent from the pass that year, it is likely that Kane did the sketch for The Boat Encampment, Rocky Mountains (Plate 11), now in the Stark Collection, Texas, the following year. In October 1847, his party was compelled to remain there for three weeks waiting to meet the eastern brigade of the company. The oil of the same title (Plate 12), now in the Glenbow Museum, was done from the sketch. Besides this, a replica of the painting is in the Royal Ontario Museum. Several elements of the Glenbow painting are different from the sketch. Both J. Russell Harper and Susan Stewart have remarked on changes Kane made between watercolour sketches and oil paintings. Stewart writes that Kane often manipulated the final paintings so that they cannot be relied on for historical accuracy.[65] She also points out that figures and other elements were often taken from pages of studies and used in the final works. Harper, more concerned with aesthetics, observes that "comparison of field sketches and canvases demonstrates that the fresh colouring which is one of the glories of the former is lost."[66] In comparing the sketch and the finished work for Boat Encampment, Rocky Mountains one notices that, besides the fact that the oil painting is a more academic, highly finished work and that certain rearrangements have taken place, the mountains have been brought forward and made to appear more looming (and sublime, perhaps), besides being simplified into more three-dimensional, rounded shapes. Thus, Kane seems to have attempted to transform the landscape elements, between sketch and finished work, to meet mid nineteenth-century expectations of landscape depiction. The alterations in mountain shapes are particularly apparent when one examines a pencil sketch he did of the scene. The final work reveals that he largely disregarded the jaggedness of mountain peaks which is evident in the drawing.

In the 1850s, while Kane was working up his sketches in Toronto, the Cariboo gold rush was taking place in British Columbia, encouraging the westward movement of thousands of hopeful seekers. Among these was William G.R. Hind (1833-1889) who in 1862 was part of a group which became known as the Overlanders. Hind was not primarily a landscape painter but he produced several unique small watercolours and oil paintings of the Rocky Mountains.

Hind had left England for Canada in 1851. Little is known of his early life or education. It is possible that he attended the Nottingham Government School of Design.[67] He must have at least seen the Pre-Raphaelite exhibitions at the Royal Academy before he left England, or during the late 1850s when he returned. He chose Toronto as a residence because his brother, Henry, a respected chemist, geologist, and magazine editor, lived there. Soon after his arrival in Toronto, William Hind obtained the position of Drawing Master at the Toronto Normal School.[68]

After a trip to England between 1857 and 1861, Marnie Fleming suggests, Hind "turned away from anecdotal genre subjects to scenes of documentary realism."[69] She stresses the importance of labour in his work. On his return, he accompanied his brother on an exploratory expedition to Labrador and produced a series of gouaches, watercolours and drawings which were used for illustrations in the published report.[70] Soon after, he joined the Overlanders expedition. On the completion of the expedition, Hind spent the next few years in British Columbia. He was still in Victoria in 1865 and, after a period in the Red River colony, where he made sketches for the London Illustrated

News, he returned east and lived in the Maritimes for the rest of his life. Harper states that he seems to have abandoned professional painting at that time.

A watercolour by Hind, painted during the Overlanders expedition, is Jasper's House (Plate 13), in the Public Archives of British Columbia. The mountains are placed in the background yet the composition differs from the standard watercolour view. The small work, like many of Hind's, is taken from an unusual vantage point--in this case, from above, yet near, the figure which is likely one of the 'Overlanders'. The effect of the river below winding back to the mountains in the background, all seen in bright sunlight and frequently simplified in an almost primitive style, creates a charming work, typical of many of Hind's small watercolours. A similar work is in the McCord Museum, titled Leather Pass, Rocky Mountains. It is possible to surmise that the following year in Victoria, Milton and Cheadle purchased from Hind a similar watercolour, which was reproduced as an illustration for their book, in which the two gentlemen have replaced the traveller and his ox.[71]

Unlike Hind, William Armstrong (1822-1914) likely never went farther west than the Red River colony. His watercolours of the Rockies seem to be based on photographs or other artists' sketches. One of his works in the Royal Ontario Museum is even listed as "from a sketch by Capt. Palliser."

Armstrong, a railway draughtsman from Ireland, arrived in Toronto in 1851. He was obviously recognized as an artist soon after his arrival for he was commissioned to paint a view of the city. Details of his training in art are not known.[72] By 1857 he was a partner in the Toronto firm, Armstrong, Beere and Hime, described as photographers as well as civil engineers and draughtsmen.[73] He won first prize for landscape photographs at the Provincial Exhibition of 1862.[74] Harper describes him as often "selling bush scenes and Indian prints to British officers for their souvenir albums at $1.50 each or 75 cents in quantity."[75] In 1855, two of his works, along with two of Kane's, were exhibited in the Universal Exhibition of 1855 in Paris. In 1870, Armstrong was sent to the Red River area as both an engineer with the Colonel Garnet Wolseley expedition and as a special artist for the Canadian Illustrated News. He taught art at the Toronto Normal School[76] and other institutions and in 1882 was elected as Associate of the Royal Canadian Academy.

It is known that Armstrong often used sources other than his own sketches. One writer states that "a careful study of his work, particularly of the many repetitions of the more popular subjects, reveals that quite a few of his watercolours are based on early photographs (Hime) and even other artists' works."[77] A letter written by Armstrong in 1863 clearly reveals his enthusiasm for using such sources. Writing to J. Edward Watkin, head of the Hudson's Bay Company, Armstrong offered to "execute a series of either crayon or watercolour drawings from the original sketches [he had] purchased."[78] He also related that he had just finished two large drawings of "scenes on the Fraser R. and Jasper pass." He presumed that the Hudson's Bay Company would appreciate the "opportunity of having drawings done without the cost of sending a party."[79] As the work in the Royal Ontario Museum, Rocky Mountain Gorge (Plate 14), is listed as being "from a sketch by Capt. Palliser," it is possible that the works Armstrong had just completed were also from sketches by Palliser, whose expedition to the West had taken place between 1857 and 1860. It is also possible that the sketches were by William Hind who had also painted the subjects mentioned. Armstrong's practice of using photographs and sketches as the basis for his own work, as well as the fact that no reference to him being in the Rockies has been found, supports the assumption that he never was there and that any work by him of a subject west of Red River was taken from other sources, rather than on the spot. This makes less likely J. Russell Harper's assertion in Early Painters and Engravers in Canada that Armstrong visited the Rockies in 1877 as an engineer surveying for Sandford Fleming.

In the Rocky Mountain Gorge, likely done in the early 1860s, the mountains are reduced in size and treated awkwardly. It is unfortunate that the sketch by Palliser, on which it is based, remains lost. Conventions of the picturesque are represented by the carefully arranged dark foreground elements and the exaggerated contrast between darks and lights which suggests, perhaps, the dark and ominous aspect of the gorge.

Summary

Some of the works in this chapter are topographical in intent. Also, many reveal picturesque conventions often seen in amateur landscape watercolours of the nineteenth century. Conventions of the picturesque were considered appropriate for the depiction of alpine landscape by many amateurs. The original formats, as laid down by writers such as William Gilpin, became watered down during the nineteenth century but the habit of seeing landscape as a 'scene' or 'view', with appropriate arrangement of elements, remained. The professional painters in the chapter, while revealing a certain acceptance of picturesque prerequisties, were preoccupied with other concerns such as an interest in native people (Kane) and in the working man (Hind). A contrast has been noted in some cases between picturesque visual renderings of the Rockies and accompanying descriptive texts. The amateur painters, Warre, Southesk and Nevitt all produced sketches which portray the Rockies in picturesque terms yet they verbally portray them in the terms of typically nineteenth-century nature descriptions which include the concept of the sublime.

Besides this conscious or unconscious sympathy with the picturesque mode of seeing landscape, many of the artists in this chapter, both amateur and professional, published Rocky Mountain sketches. Henry Warre undertook the publication of his sketches of the West; James Alden apparently was only prevented by the advent of the American Civil War from having his sketches published with the government report of his expedition, A.P. Coleman illustrated his publication, and R.B. Nevitt and L.A. Hamilton had sketches published in newspapers. The aristocratic British travellers, Lords Southesk and Milton also published their sketches, or those of other artists, in accounts of their travels. Of the professional artists, Paul Kane published a travel book which he illustrated and William Armstrong, like William Hind, sent illustrations from the West to newspapers.

Moreover, Hind had previously provided illustrations for the government report of 1862, submitted by his brother, of explorations in Labrador. This was one of the few Canadian government reports illustrated by artists' sketches; in Canada, photography was taking over this role by the 1870s.

The use of watercolour has also been seen as predominant in this chapter. The obvious factor behind this was the portability of watercolour paints compared to oil. Jeremy Adamson points out that by 1832, the availability of the collapsible tin tube containing a wet paste of colour increased the convenience of this medium for the travelling artist.[80]

Also revealed in the chapter was the interchangeableness of visual images, particularly in relation to publication. Lord Milton bought sketches from Frederick Whymper and possibly William Hind, to be made into illustrations. William Armstrong offered the Hudson's Bay Company paintings which he had produced from another artist's sketches and R.B. Nevitt's sketches of Fort Macleod were sent out to be photographed, thus providing one of the few records of the fort. In this period before photography made visual images more accessible, artists were called upon to provide records of human experience as well as of the nature they inhabited. As such, aesthetic concerns tended to play a less important role.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

[1] Warre's young age is explained by the existence of Sandhurst's junior department. (Allan R. Skelley, "The Military education of regular officers for the British Army, 1868-1875," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Alberta, 1969); See Alan Shepherd, Sandhurst, the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst and its Predecessors (London: Country Life Books, 1980), p. 51; and Hugh Thomas, The Story of Sandhurst (London: Hutcheson of London, 1961), p. 86.

[2] Thomas, p. 44.

[3] Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance (London: Harrison and Sons, c.1903), as referred to in Painting During the Colonial Period in British Columbia, 1845-1871 exhibition catalogue, text by Helen Bergen Peters (Victoria: Sono Nis Press for the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, Univ. of Victoria, 1979), p. 12. Peters points out that Warre's pen and wash sketches reveal an adherence to these guidelines although his watercolours seem to be a result of his own interpretations.

[4] Painting During the Colonial Period, p. 68.

[5] Quoted in Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-6," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 10, No. 1 (March 1909).

[6] Susan Stewart, "The Hudson's Bay Company's contribution to the work of three important artists in their territory, 1821-1860," M.A. thesis, Univ. of British Columbia, 1979, p. 51.

[7] Stewart, "The Hudson's Bay Company's contribution," p. 7.

[8] Henry J. Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory (1848; rpt. Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1970).

[9] Warre, Sketches (1970), p. 17.

[10] Warre Journal, Public Archives of Canada, (MG,24;F71) vol. 1, pp. 1045-7; as quoted in Overland to Oregon in 1845, Impressions of a Journey Across North America by Henry J. Warre, exhibition catalogue, text by Madeleine Major-Frégeau (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1976), p. 40. The overwhelming feeling of being surrounded by mountains is seen in the writings of other travellers through the Rockies before the railway arrived. The possibility of not finding a pass through the mountains was a frequent concern. Charles F. Hannington, a C.P.R. surveyor whose letters were published in "Journal of Mr. C.F. Hannington from Quesnelle through the Rocky Mountains during the Winter

of 1874-75," in Canadian Archive Branch, Report on Public Archives, 1887), (Ottawa: Canadian Archives, 1888), as his party searched for a pass through the Rockies from the Fraser River, wrote, that "you would think the mountains shut the whole place up." (p. cxxi).

[11] William H. Bartlett, Canadian Scenery Illustrated, 2 vols. (London: George Virtue, 1842).

[12] This information is based on the fact that a watercolour by William Armstrong, in the Royal Ontario Museum, is labelled "from a sketch by Captain Palliser." The work is discussed in this chapter.

[13] Patricia Trenton and Peter H. Hassrick, The Rocky Mountains, A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

[14] Ibid., p. 82. This refers to Isaac I. Stevens, Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 12 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1855-1860). Eleven artists supplied works for publication. Most of the plates were lithographs printed in two or three colours. According to Trenton and Hassrick, the "most celebrated" of the artists was John Mix Stanley, then "recognized as one of America's most knowledgeable and perceptive interpreters of the western scene." (p. 78). The flamboyant American reports were seen as signs of the country's greatness and 'manifest destiny' by the surprisingly large number of people who read them. By the late 1870s, the expanding size of such expeditions numbered "in the sixties with many wagonloads of equipment." (Ibid., p. 159) The fact that professional artists were hired by government expeditions and produced works for published reports in the United States, leads one to search for the same situation in Canada. It seems that the Hind expeditions were unique in this regard, and that Hind's initiative, rather than that of the Canadian government, was partly responsible for the undertaking. (See letter from Hind to Provincial Secretary, 10 April 1858, quoted in Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, Canadian Photography: 1839-1920 [Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979], p. 84).

[15] Franz Stenzel, James Madison Alden, Yankee Artist of the Pacific, 1854-1860 (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1975), p. 7.

[16] Alden produced at least 67 works for the Boundary Commission, most of which are in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Also apparently never published was a book entitled A Rocky Mountain Reconnaissance, for which Alden had completed about 20 watercolours.

[17] See Wilson journals, Public Archives of British Columbia. For published diaries of Wilson, see Mapping the Frontier, ed. and introd. George F.G. Stanley (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970).

[18] Painting During the Colonial Period, p. 12. See Synopsis of the Course of Instruction for Officers and Men at the Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham, revised by order of Colonel H.D. Harness (Chatham: Royal Engineer Establishment, 1863), pp. 1-2; as quoted in Painting During the Colonial Period, p. 18, n. 6.

[19] Wilson journal, TS. Public Archives of British Columbia, p. 69.

[20] The Western Interior, p. 147.

[21] The college is known to have provided art instruction by about 1870. (Dennis Reid, Our Own Country Canada [Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada/National Museums of Canada, 1979], p. 84).

[22] A Winter at Fort Macleod, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1974), p. 18. Accompanying the march as far as the Sweetgrass Hills, was Henri Julien, illustrator and journalist for the Canadian Illustrated News. See George F.G. Stanley, "The Man Who Sketched the Great March," in Men in Scarlet, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey (Calgary: McClelland & Stewart West, n.d.), p. 28.

[23] Ibid., p. 57. The earliest photographs of Fort Macleod of which the writer is aware are from 1878.

[24] Canadian Illustrated News, 2 July 1881.

[25] R.B. Nevitt to the Editor, Canadian Illustrated News, 2 July 1881.

[26] Irene M. Spry, The Palliser Expedition, An Account of John Palliser's British North American Expedition, 1857-1860 (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963), p. 176.

[27] See Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, The North-West Passage By Land (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1865; rpt. Toronto: Coles, 1970); and Earl of Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport and Adventure, During a Journey through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories in 1859 and 1860 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas; Toronto: James Campbell & Sons, 1875).

[28] Whymper had illustrated travel books with his father, Josiah Wood Whymper, a well-known London engraver, in England. He had maintained a studio Victoria since autumn, 1862. (Painting During the Colonial Period, p. 75). As he appears to have done little, if any, painting in the Rockies, he is of interest only because he sold sketches to Milton which were almost certainly used in the book. The two illustrations which seem to be based on known Whymper watercolours are Yale on the Fraser River and The 'Rattlesnake Grade', Pavillon Mountain, British Columbia, which are similar to Whymper's Fort Yale,

British Columbia, and *On the Pavillon Mountain, B.C.*, both in the *Public Archives* of Canada, *Cheadle Collection*. Hind, who will be discussed in this chapter, was also living in Victoria.

[29] Southesk, p. 178.

[30] See William Spotswood Green, *Among the Selkirk Glaciers, Being the Account of A Rough Survey in the Rocky Mountain Regions of British Columbia* (London: Macmillan, 1890). Also see *Tales from the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1984); E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada, The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983), pp. 60-2.

[31] Marquis of Lorne, *Canadian Pictures, Drawn with Pen and Pencil by the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., With objects and photographs of and sketches by the Marquis of Lorne, Sidney Hall, etc.* (London: 1884).

[32] Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, Diary, 18 Oct. 1894; as quoted in *The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898*, ed. John T. Saywell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1960), p. 139.

[33] Arthur P. Coleman, *The Canadian Rockies* (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1912).

[34] Donald Allan Pringle, First draft of "Artists of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, 1881-1900," M.A. thesis, Concordia Univ., Montreal, 1984, p. 208. Pringle points out that Coleman also gave lectures in Toronto on his Rocky Mountain experiences. As might be expected of a geologist and mountaineer of the period, Coleman also wrote articles for the *Canadian Alpine Journal*.

[35] "Glaciers and Mountains by a Canadian Artist-Geologist," Information sheet, Royal Ontario Museum, April, 1970.

[36] Coleman, p. 50.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 50.

[38] *Ibid*., p. 23.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 18.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 358.

[41] One of these painters was Ellen Elizabeth Spragge (active 1880-1912) who went west in 1886, during the first summer after the completion of the C.P.R. and became one of the few amateur artists that the company sponsored. No works have been located although she is known to have painted more than one series of watercolours of the Rockies, some of which were used for illustrations in *Dominion*

Illustrated during the late 1880s. (J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1970]). Another amateur painter who painted in the Rockies was Walter Cassels. It has been suggested that Cassels was the Walter Cassels (1845-1923) who came to the West as a lawyer for the C.P.R. in 1888. A small watercolour by Cassels, View of Mt. Rundle, is in Glenbow Museum. Unlike many amateur views, it reveals detailed depictions of rocks and foliage, rather than the use of washes in a more generalized treatment.

[42] "Island Arts and Crafts Society Exhibitors, 1910-1941," Public Archives of British Columbia.

[43] Christina Betts Johnson-Dean, "The Crease Family and the Arts in Victoria, British Columbia," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Victoria, 1980, p. 83.

[44] Ibid., p. 22.

[45] Ibid., p. 123.

[46] Ibid., p. 127.

[47] The club became the Island Arts and Craft Club in 1912. See Christina Johnson-Dean, "B.C. Women Artists, 1885-1920," in British Columbia Women Artists, 1885-1985, exhibition catalogue, texts by Nicholas Tuele, Christina Johnson-Dean and Roberto Pazdro (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1985), p. 10.

[48] P. Turner Bone, When the Steel Went Through (Toronto: Macmillan, 1947), p. 79.

[49] Ibid., p. 79.

[50] Nanaimo Daily Free Press, 27 Oct. 1967, p. 11.

[51] Lorne Render, The Mountains and the Sky (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute/McClelland and Stewart West, 1974), p. 48.

[52] Pringle, First draft of "Artists of the C.P.R.," p. 85.

[53] Vancouver City Archives, Information sheet.

[54] J. Lonsdale Doupe, "Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton," 1936, TS, Vancouver City Archives.

[55] "British Columbia Scenes on the line at the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, from photographs and sketches by L.A. Hamilton," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 24 Oct. 1885.

[56] Render, p. 90.

[57] *Ibid*., pp. 90-4.

[58] Quoted in Jon Whyte, ed., *Pete' n' Catherine, their story, from Catherine Robb Whyte, Peter Whyte, A Commemorative Portfolio* (Banff: The Whyte Foundation, 1980), p. 49.

[59] J. Russell Harper, *Paul Kane's Frontier, including Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 9.

[60] Harper, *Paul Kane's Frontier*, p. 13.

[61] *Ibid*., p. 14.

[62] Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North American from Canada to Vancouver Island and Oregon Through the Hudson's Bay Territory and Back Again* (1859; rev. ed. Radisson Society of Canada, 1925; rpt. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968).

[63] See Stewart, "The Hudson's Bay Company's contribution," p. 81.

[64] Kane, p. 102.

[65] Susan Stewart, "Paul Kane Paintings Rediscovered," *Journal of Canadian Art History* V, No. 2 (1981), p. 90.

[66] Harper, *Paul Kane's Frontier*, p. 36.

[67] J. Russell Harper, *William G.R. Hind* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976), p. 7.

[68] *Ibid*., p. 9.

[69] Marnie Fleming, "Not to seek gold but to paint . . . the British Columbia views of William G.R. Hind," M.A. thesis, Univ. of British Columbia, 1980, p. 30.

[70] Henry Youle Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Penninsula, the Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1863).

[71] "View from the hill opposite Jasper House-the Upper Lake of the Athabasca River and Priest's Rock," *The North-West Passage by Land*, facing p. 232.

[72] In biographical information provided to the National Gallery of Canada, Armstrong stated that he was trained by "Ed. Newman and his sisters." (William Armstrong, Information Form, National Gallery of Canada).

[73] Artist reference sheet, Art Department, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

[74] Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography, 1839-1920, p. 47.

[75] J. Russell Harper, Painting in Canada: a history, 2nd. ed. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 126.

[76] Mary Allodi, Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1974). Henry C. Campbell, Early Days on the Great Lakes, the Art of William Armstrong (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), p. 10, states that Armstrong began to teach drawing at the Toronto Model School in 1870.

[77] 150 Years of Art in Manitoba, Struggle for a Visual Civilization, exhibition catalogue, text by Ferdinand Eckhardt, (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1970), p. 10. Michael Bell states that Armstrong used sketches by William Napier from the Hind-Dawson Expedition. (Image of Canada. Documentary watercolours and drawings from the Permanent Collection of the Public Archives of Canada, exhibition catalogue, text by Michael Bell [Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972]).

[78] William Armstrong, Toronto, to J.E. Watkin, 14 Sept. 1863, Public Archives of Canada, MG 24 E17, vol. 2, #166.

[79] Ibid.

[80] From Ocean to Ocean: Nineteenth Century Water Colour Painting in Canada, exhibition catalogue, text by Jeremy Adamson (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1978), p. 5.

Chapter III

PROFESSIONAL LANDSCAPE PAINTERS AND THE HEYDAY OF PATRONAGE BY THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

Introduction

Most of the painters of the Rockies and Selkirks from the mid 1880s to at least 1900 must be seen in the context of the Canadian Pacific Railway's patronage of artists. In fact, Allan Pringle points out in his M.A. thesis on C.P.R. patronage that "a record of Dominion artists directly or indirectly involved with the C.P.R. and its promotional campaign reads like a near-complete list of 'Who's Who' in late nineteenth-century Canadian painting."[1] The railway in Canada was viewed as the material manifestation of the climate of nationalistic expansion in the country during the 1880s and 1890s. The power and prestige of the C.P.R. in Canada was immense. An American writer, lamenting the state of the arts in Canada in 1891, wrote that "the social scheme in Canada is composed of concentric circles, with the railroad hierarchy and the millionaires in the middle."[2]

Besides being used for promotional purposes, the Rocky Mountain paintings became symbols of the success of expansionism for the country and the C.P.R. Dennis Reid writes in Our Own Country Canada that when William C. Van Horne (1843-1915) "referred in a letter to the Rockies as 'our mountains', he perhaps did not mean they belonged only to the company, but to all Canadians."[3]

By 1886, the year of its completion, the C.P.R. had an efficient advertising program in place.[4] To further enhance the program, Van

Horne, then vice-president, launched a campaign to encourage artists to paint western scenes for C.P.R. offices, hotels, stations and other prominent places, as well as for exhibition and for publication in brochures and guide books promoting settlement and tourism in the West. The most spectacular scenery was, of course, in the Rocky Mountains. As his primary concern was the wide promotion of scenery which would encourage railway travel, Van Horne had turned first to photographers to depict the splendours of the West. By 1884, the C.P.R. had commissioned William MacFarlane Notman to make photographs along the railway and by 1888 Notman photographs were hanging in C.P.R. waiting rooms across the country.[5] Photography and landscape painting were closely connected in Canada, particularly through the opportunities provided by Notman Studios.

That the railway had come to be seen as an important means of reaching new sketching grounds in Canada and the United States is apparent in an 1878 review of the Ontario Society of Artists exhibition. Lucius O'Brien was one of the artists who had taken a new line to the Bay of Chaleur, in northwest New Brunswick and subsequently exhibited landscapes of the area. "One feature of the exhibition which must have struck almost everyone," the writer enthused,

> is the effect which the opening of the Intercolonial . . . has had on our landscape painting. A few years ago we had nothing but Lake Superior and Muskoka. . . . The new field . . . will furnish abundance of material for years to come, by which time we may have access to the still vaster fields of the magnificent but, as yet, too inaccessible scenery of the North-west.[6]

Van Horne was the driving force behind the program as well as the man personally responsible for much of the correspondence with artists. An American and a sophisticated collector of art himself, he had been with the company since 1881 when he was hired to oversee the completion of the cross-country line. His private collection, partly developed through the advice of Durand-Ruel in Paris and Knoedler in New York, was extensive and included old masters, French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists.[7] Besides him, several other C.P.R. magnates in Montreal ranked among the foremost art collectors and patrons in North America. Van Horne was himself a competent painter and some of the artists who visited the West were friends or sketching companions.[8] In 1892, as one of the founders of the Pen and Pencil Club in Montreal, he became involved with painters who had been trained in Paris such as Maurice Cullen and William Brymner. Pringle notes that from 1892 on, when distributing railway passes, Van Horne tended to favour club members.

The fact that Van Horne and other C.P.R. associates held positions on art society boards strengthened the railway's influence on Canadian painting at the time. Pringle cites five such men whc between 1886 and 1903 "alternated as Councillors on the Advisory Committees of the Art Association of Montreal. Their personal bias towards C.P.R.-sponsored artists was clearly visible by the abundance of Northwest landscapes exhibited at the [Art Association of Montreal] over this period."[9]

The scale of direct involvement with artists by the C.P.R. for promotional purposes seems unprecedented. In the United States individual artists such as George Inness had been commissioned to paint scenery along the route of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway and Albert Bierstadt sometimes travelled free of charge on American railways.[10] However, in Canada, the program of corporate patronage undertaken by the C.P.R. has known no parallel in Canadian art history. Pringle states that existing documentation reveals that before 1900, Van Horne had issued free passes or reduced-fare tickets to at least 33 prominent artists on more than 100 occasions and had commissioned and/or purchased at least 55 landscape paintings on behalf of the C.P.R.[11]

As to the C.P.R.'s intention of promoting immigration and tourism, Pringle suggests that the costs of the C.P.R.'s program of patronage of artists did not justify the end. However, he suggests that a political effect may have been achieved.

> Paintings of the Northwest landscape, viewed by prominent businessmen and politicans at [Royal Canadian Academy and Ontario Society of Artists] showings and in C.P.R.-sponsored exhibitions abroad, kept the focus of attention on the opening of the Canadian West. . . . As a result immigration policy decisions and future business considerations may have been affected.[12]

The Artists

It was not difficult for the C.P.R. to convince painters to travel to the West. The interest in new sketching grounds was strong in the nationalistic climate of the time. Nationalism and landscape painting were at the core of both the Ontario Society of Artists (O.S.A.), founded in 1872, and the Royal Canadian Academy (R.C.A.), in 1880. In 1886, the first year that free passes were distributed, five artists are known to have travelled to the Rockies courtesy of the

C.P.R.: Lucius R. O'Brien, John A. Fraser, John Colin Forbes, William Brymner and James Alfred Aitken, a Scottish painter.[13] Pringle points out that the first three artists had connections with the art world in the United States which affected their choice by the American connoisseur, Van Horne.[14]

Lucius O'Brien (1832-1899) produced several fine watercolours as a result of the two summers, 1886 and 1887, that he spent in the mountains. O'Brien's background included attendance at Upper Canada College in the 1840s where he likely was instructed in drawing by John G. Howard. Although he was largely self-taught, according to Reid, by the 1870s, "there was no artist in Toronto whose [watercolour] work came close to [his]."[15] Reid (and Pringle in a recent article) cites the influence of the American, Albert Bierstadt, on O'Brien in connection with the "heroic" conception of some of his paintings after he had sketched with Bierstadt in 1880. Besides the influence of Bierstadt, Reid compares his watercolours by the 1870s to certain aspects of the work of the American Luminists, mentioning their sense of space and serene open quality, by which he may mean the horizontal format, and the measured sense of placement of objects.[16] O'Brien's stature as President of the R.C.A., art editor of Picturesque Canada, and his association with American artists likely explains the fact that Van Horne offered him full co-operation from the C.P.R.[17] As well, O'Brien was strongly nationalistic, and thus, was "closely aligned to the interests of the C.P.R."[18]

O'Brien had originally intended to paint in the Rockies to produce works for illustration in Picturesque Canada which was published beginning in 1882. However, it does not appear that he actually visited the West until after the publication had appeared.[19] In correspondence with the C.P.R. in 1886, he stated that he wanted "to paint a series of pictures illustrative of the different phases of the scenery for exhibition in London."[20] This he did, exhibiting Rocky Mountain works in the Royal Academy in 1887 and in a one-man show at Mclean's Gallery, London in 1888.[21]

O'Brien's 1886 and 1887 trips to the mountains are documented in a notebook/sketchbook, now in the Public Archives of British Columbia. When he reached the mountains in July 1886, he went directly to the Selkirk Mountains and set up camp in Rogers Pass. Van Horne had suggested that he and his sketching companion, J.C. Forbes, confine their sketching activities to the area around Glacier House.[22] O'Brien seems to have followed these instructions for the following spring he referred to a small collection of monochromatic watercolour sketches as including "the subjects [Van Horne] selected near the Glacier Hotel."[23] Van Horne apparently had a preference for atmospheric effects at this time for O'Brien referred to a specific subject, proposed by Van Horne, "of a valley filled with mist" and of another work for which the latter had "suggested putting some low lying mist in the middle distance." O'Brien also experimented with such effects in photographs that year. In the sketchbook already mentioned he included lists of photograph subjects. One is entered as "Effect of mist on mountain, bright sun."[24] Thus, it appears that Van Horne influenced O'Brien's Rocky Mountain works as to locations and atmospheric effects. Reid points out that in O'Brien's watercolours of

1886, "the mountains are either set back, so that the intervening atmosphere softens them, or they are swathed in mist or cloud."[25]

Regarding O'Brien's attitude towards photography, Reid states that an examination of the paintings of 1886 reveals that "the photography was kept quite separate from the painting."[26] However, Doreen Walker has clearly demonstrated that he did, on occasion, base his paintings on photographs.[27] O'Brien was awed by the mountains and found them visually fascinating. "At one moment the mountains seem quite close," he wrote to a friend. "Masses of rich, strong colour; then they appear far away, of the faintest pearly grey. . . . the trees where the timbermen have not culled out the finest, are most picturesque."[28] As in some of his earlier works, O'Brien's Rocky Mountain paintings frequently include the picturesque compositional element of the shattered stump. At the same time, his writing suggests that he was concerned over the destruction of trees by man.[29] An example of these paintings is Mountain Landscape, 1886 (Plate 15), in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. O'Brien did several versions of this work.[30] It reveals elements which are typical of his 1886 western alpine paintings such as vertical format, the shattered stump in the foreground and background of mist-enshrouded mountains as well as intricately applied brush strokes, and crisp, clear colour.

O'Brien's second trip to the mountains occurred in June 1887, and centred around Banff and the area of Kicking Horse Pass. In published letters, he contrasted the Rockies with the Selkirks, suggesting eighteenth-century perceptions of the beautiful and the sublime. "The aspect and sentiment of the scenery [around Banff] is as different from the stern majesty of the Selkirks as it is possible to conceive," he wrote. "There is no want for grandeur, but one is filled with a sense of beauty rather than of awe."[31] Thus, O'Brien demonstrates the still-lingering eighteenth-century perception of landscape which necessitated its being classified as either beautiful or sublime.

Several reviews of exhibitions of 1888 were not favourably disposed to the Rocky Mountain paintings. The viewing public had apparently grown tired of C.P.R.-inspired views of the Rockies. It is likely that these reviews influenced O'Brien for, although he continued to exhibit alpine paintings of the West, he apparently did not visit the Rockies again.[32]

John Colin Forbes (1846-1925), who accompanied O'Brien to the West in 1886, left behind few paintings of the Rockies. Although he spent over four months there, and had written Sir George Stephen of his plans to produce sketches for large canvases to be exhibted in Europe, these do not appear to have materialized.[33] Forbes had attended Upper Canada College and, like at least five other artists who painted in the Rockies during this period, trained in England at the South Kensington School of Art, officially known as the National Art Training School.[34] He also studied at the Royal Academy Schools. He had exhibited Rocky Mountain oil paintings in Montreal in May, 1884, which were based on Notman photographs.[35] It is possible that the "T.G. Forbes" mentioned in a review as exhibiting Rocky Mountain subjects in the 1886 Colonial Exhibition, is the same Forbes.[36] The fact that a successful portraitist at the peak of his career would exhibit Rocky Mountain paintings based on photographs suggests the popularity of such subjects at that time. Pringle cites a review of some of his 1884 Rocky Mountain paintings which criticizes the lack of variety of tone, a typical result of a reliance on black and white photographs.[37] Such little-varied tonality occurs in In the Rockies (Plate 16), an oil painting of 1884 in the Glenbow Museum.[38] Its composition seems arbitrary, another aspect which points to a photographic source. Discrepancy between light source in the foreground and background suggests the use of more than one photograph of the scene. The photographic sources were most likely by Baltzly and Hammond from the 1871-72 expedition and would have been available from the Notman Studios.[39]

Of the artists travelling to the Rockies with free passes from the C.P.R., none was as closely connected to the company as John A. Fraser (1838-1898). Before he painted in the mountains in 1886, he had exhibited Rocky Mountain paintings, based on photographs, in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in May of that year. During his years of association with the company, he was sponsored in various endeavours including exhibitions in the United States and Britain.

Fraser came to Canada in 1858. Recent research has revealed that he likely attended the South Kensington School of Art.[40] Soon after his arrival in Montreal he began working for William Notman, tinting photographic portraits and, in 1868, moved to Toronto to establish the firm of Notman and Fraser.[41] He was instrumental in the founding of the O.S.A. and the R.C.A. Fraser's last years were spent in London and the United States where he often exhibited with American watercolour societies.

Little of Fraser's best work was done in the Rockies. In a recent thesis on Fraser, Kathryn Kollar describes some of his better work, such as Laurentian Splendour, his 1880 'diploma piece' for the R.C.A.~~,~~ as bearing comparison to the horizontal format and quality of light seen in American Luminist works.[42]

For reasons that have not been ascertained, Fraser apparently travelled to the end of the C.P.R. line in 1883 and sketched around Calgary and in the foothills. A sketch book produced during the trip is extant and three or four watercolours survive, none of which are of mountain subjects.[43] In 1884, he began to undertake illustrative work for C.P.R. guide books and, in 1886, was commissioned by the company to produce watercolours from photographs for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. The correspondence between Van Horne and Fraser reveals one of the clearest examples of Rocky Mountain paintings being derived from photographs. The photographs, by Alexander Henderson and Oliver Buell,[44] were supplied to Fraser by the company.[45] Van Horne wrote that Henderson's use of a wide-angle lens had distorted one of the views and Fraser accordingly "raised the mountains."[46] Fraser's problems with the commission are illustrated in the following letter in which he laments the use of composite photographs:

> I am treating the Summit Lake view as a sunrise, the mountains illuminated, the west in shadow and I am keeping the light in the same direction as in the photo--and am anxious to know if such treatment is consistent with fact. . . . The sky in the photo is printed in from another negative and I think the view was made when the light was low while the sky negative was made about midday or afternoon.[47]

Thus, some of the earliest paintings of the Canadian Rockies which were exhibited abroad were produced by an artist who was relying on photographs and the recollections of others. Besides these obstacles to a fresh rendering of the subject, in at least one case the photograph used was a combination (composite) of two negatives which were produced at different times of day.

Three of the resulting works were sent to the Colonial Exhibition. Due to the forceful intervention of Sir Charles Tupper, Canadian High Commissioner, they were hung in a favourable position among the Canadian entries.[48] Kollar cites Dennis Reid's earlier research in stating that *Mount Stephen, Summit of the Rocky Mountains, near Senchoile* is probably the same as *Mount Stephen, near Lenchoil* (Plate 17), in a private collection.[49] She concurs that the work may be based on one of the Henderson photographs entitled *Mist of Mount Stephen*. In the watercolour, mountains are faintly discernible behind the atmospheric haze. Kollar cites further photographic elements of the work, such as lack of framing devices, appearance of cropping and no centre of focus, and concludes that "the overall view is much the same as a camera would have captured the scene . . . recording everything within the range of its lens."[50]

Besides the C.P.R.'s suggestions of subject matter, supplying of photographs, submitting of work for exhibition, and promise of sale of the works, the company also played a role in soliciting favourable exhibition reviews for Fraser. Probably at the request of the C.P.R., Lord Lansdowne, the current Governor-General of Canada, commissioned a report on the Canadian section of the exhibition by J.E. Hodgson, professor of painting at the British Royal Academy.[51] The report, written by a man whose preferences for Ruskinian 'truth to nature' were known, singled out Fraser, who was referred to as "the pioneer of a new School of Art."[52] "He seems to have gone forth into the wilderness in search of the picturesque," Hodgson wrote, and he "shows the same daring spirit in the subjects he chooses and the natural effects he tries to represent. . . ." When one recalls that Fraser painted these works from photographs in the studio, the absurdity of the situation is apparent. Another critic of the exhibition, R.A.M. Stevenson, writing in The Magazine of Art, barely mentioned Fraser, referring to his work as often lacking a sense of values.[53]

When Fraser actually did paint in the mountains, in July, 1886, he apparently produced few sketches, partly because forest fires caused a hazy atmosphere. It is of interest, therefore, to note that in a C.P.R.-arranged exhibition the following year at the Canadian Club in New York, he appeared to be disclaiming any use of photography. The works he was exhibiting at the club, he insisted, "were painted on the spot."[54] Kollar points out the dubiousness of this statement because of the number of watercolours from that summer which reveal the use of photographs.[55]

Rogers Pass (Plate 18), an oil painting in the National Gallery of Canada, apparently was executed after Fraser's return from the West, and probably owes its existence to a Henderson photograph. It is based on a watercolour of the same name which was possibly one of the works for the Colonial Exhibition, Mount Hermit, Summit of the Selkirk Range.[56] This watercolour, in turn, was related to the Henderson photograph, From the Summit of the Selkirks which may be one of two Henderson photographs now in the Notman Archives, McCord Museum.[57] In the oil painting, like the watercolour, the mountains are vividly portrayed compared to the dark, unarticulated trees in the middle distance. The relation to photography is further established, Ann Thomas suggests, by the mountain forms which seem "'filled in', as if a rigid outline were already in evidence and the painter restricted by its limits. . . ."[58] The loosening up of brush strokes is suggested as "a deliberate attempt on the part of the artist to inject vitality into the work."[59]

Another artist whose Rocky Mountain paintings relate to photography was Robert F. Gagen (1847-1926). Pringle cites no correspondence between him and the C.P.R. and concludes that he never visited the West at all, merely produced Rocky Mountain landscapes drawn from photographic sources[60] although Reid states that he visited the Rockies a number of times.[61] Another publication states that 1890 was the year of his first visit.[62] Whatever is the case, Gagen exhibited Rocky Mountain landscapes in the R.C.A. exhibitions between 1901 and 1915. He came to Canada from England in 1863 and studied with William Cresswell, R.A., an English watercolourist who lived near his Seaforth, Ontario home, and George Gilbert, an art teacher who taught at Bishop Strachan School, Toronto. He later was instrumental in the founding of the O.S.A., taught at the Ontario School of Art, and became known for his marine paintings of the Atlantic coast. By 1870, Gagen was working for Notman Studios in Montreal and in 1878, opened a photography studio with John Fraser's brother, James. Thus Gagen is another example of the many painters who were employed at Notman studies during these years and for whom daily tinting of portraits, background painting and working with composite photographs was part of their painting experience. Evening in the Selkirks, an undated watercolour in the Glenbow Museum, suggests a photographic source. Like some paintings of the Rockies by Fraser, it lacks attention to detail in the dark, generalized, or 'filled-in' areas in the middle distance; while mountains are more carefully rendered and three-dimensional.

One of the most prolific of the C.P.R. painters of the Rocky Mountains was Frederic M. Bell-Smith (1846-1923) who made 16 visits to the Rockies, beginning in 1887.[63] For the first few years, at least, he was provided with free passes by the C.P.R. Bell-Smith was taught by his father, John Bell-Smith, a painter of miniature portraits, and, like several other C.P.R. painters, at the South Kensington School of Art in London. He came to Canada with his family in 1867 and was soon employed in a Montreal photographic studio owned by James Inglis. He continued to work for photographers in Hamilton and Toronto for about 12 years. In 1881 or 1882 he studied in Paris at the Colarossi Studio and again in 1891-1892 he was in Paris and London. During an 1895 visit to England he painted a portrait of Queen Victoria.

Unfortunately, because Bell-Smith, unlike O'Brien, did not keep a notebook, less is known of the circumstances of his western visits. He recalled in later years that one of his dreams "of early manhood was to visit and paint the Rockies, about whose magnificence all travellers raved."[64] In a typically nineteenth-century description of mountains, he recalled his first impression when he saw the "vanguard sentinels of the mountain host. Displaying the glint of their glacier accoutrements, they beckoned the enraptured pilgrim to explore their mysteries and their shrines."[65] He was so taken with the mountains that he bought property in Banff with the intention of living there[66] but his appointment in 1888 as Principal of the Western Branch of the Toronto Art School seems to have precluded this plan.[67]

Boulet points out many instances where Bell-Smith used photographs in his work (including some versions of the Queen's portrait). He sometimes painted to order using sketches and photographs as sources, and a number of his paintings suggest borrowings from photographs still in the collection of the Bell-Smith family.[68] His long association with photographic studies meant a familiarity with photographic processes. Bell-Smith was not a plein-air painter. He told an interviewer in 1887 that he took "only striking effects or studies of detail" to enable him "to give his works faithful elaboration."[69] The other aid-memoire, as suggested, were photographs.

Although some of his early Rocky Mountain watercolours reveal the influence of the older and more accomplished O'Brien, with whom he travelled the first summer, Bell-Smith seems to have soon developed his own approach of less detailed watercolours and oil paintings with loose brush strokes within a structured composition. Whether or not he was aware of Impressionism is unknown but the period spent in France in 1881 or 1882 would have at least acquainted him with the growing acceptance of the sketch, executed en plein-air, with its accompanying emphases on expressiveness and effect, which was apparent in both the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the private ateliers.[70] Pringle claims that Albert Bierstadt, with whom he painted in the summer of 1889, strongly affected Bell-Smith's style with the result that his oeuvre after 1889 reveals an increased emphasis on atmosphere and light with less interest in precise documentation.[71]

One of Bell-Smith's preferred landscape subjects on his trips West was fast-moving mountain streams. According to Boulet, Glacier Streams, Selkirks, B.C. (Plate 19), c.1890, in the Glenbow Museum, depicts "a motif he used often throughout his career,"[72] a stream near Glacier B.C. The mountain in the background appears to be Mount Sir Donald, a subject painted by Bierstadt during the summer of 1889. Another version, in watercolour, is in the National Gallery of Canada. A photograph in the Bell-Smith family collection closely resembles the painting and a comparison of the two shows that the mountains in the painting have been brought forward in a deliberate manner. They are more imposing than those in the photograph and may have been painted with Van Horne's favour in mind although the work, unlike C.P.R. commissions in the 1890s, is not large. The generalized dark mass of trees reminds one of the trees in some of Fraser's photograph-related work.

Bell-Smith was determined to pursue Rocky Mountain subject matter as one of the staples of his output. In 1888, he requested (and was refused) a private railway car.[73] He also held a major exhibition of his Rocky Mountain paintings in Montreal,[74] despite the fact that newspaper reviews implied that the viewing public and critics were growing tired of Rocky Mountain paintings. A review of the 1888 R.C.A. Exhibition describes him as having the most facility and doing "by far the better work in the scenic line" while the others were "all pretty much alike, the same rocky formation, the same trees."[75] This lack of variety "in the peaks and gorges of the Rocky Mountains named and designated to suit the inordinate vanity of the directors and projectors of the C.P.R." was also lamented. Interestingly, the article, written the summer before Albert Bierstadt visited the Rockies, added that "New York had outgrown Bierstadt" as a means of implying that Toronto had outgrown the Rocky Mountain painters. When one learns that O'Brien had 15 western paintings in the exhibition, which was dismissed as "pretty much alike," the fact that he never returned to the mountains to paint becomes more understandable.

Of Bell-Smith's further 15 summer visits to the Rockies, a work which illustrates his concern with the depiction of atmospheric effects is Mists and Glaciers in the Selkirks (Plate 20) of 1911, in the National Gallery of Canada. Here trees are flattened and the effect of snow, ice, and swirling mists is predominant. Writing of his enthusiasm for such effects in an article of 1918, Bell-Smith recalled the summer of 1899 when he was sketching near Glacier and was thrilled to witness the breaking of a storm he had been waiting out.

> I jumped and shouted my excitement. The clouds were rising from the valley in long festoons, the sun, lighting up glaciers and snow fields and breaking in gleams through the fast diminishing clouds, produced such a scene as would out-do anything I ever saw in a moving picture show.[76]

Bell-Smith's allusion to photography is a reminder that he likely used his camera to assist him in painting the scene.

Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) visited the Canadian Rockies with a free pass from the C.P.R. in 1889 and 1890. A renowned American painter of large, sublime landscapes, Bierstadt had studied in Europe, mainly Dusseldorf, between 1853 and 1857. By the early 1870s his huge paintings were failing from favour with sophisticated American critics and patrons. However, as Dennis Reid points out, he still had one group of patrons, even in the 1880s, for "to the railroad barons, politicians and bankers these grandiose images of an ever-expanding America, a land of vast natural energy and beauty, still held great appeal."[77] Bierstadt travelled widely and knew the wealthy and well-connected on both sides of the Atlantic. He had been to Canada in 1874 as a guest of the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, and he also befriended Dufferin's successor, Lord Lorne.

In 1863, Bierstadt produced the well-known Rocky Mountains after a visit to the American West. The painting measured 12 feet in width and sold for $25,000. Gordon Hendricks writes that "the artist had taken the mountain range [of another painting], exaggerated it, dramatized it, added glaciers, a waterfall, and an Indian camp . . . and created his masterpiece."[78] Elizabeth Lindquist-Cook, in The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting, 1839-1880, writes of the painting's relationship to stereoscopic photography.[79]

In 1887 Bierstadt had received free passes from the C.P.R. for himself and friends.[80] The visit did not take place until 1889, soon after the artist had suffered a severe weakening of his prestige by the American selection committee's rejection of his submission to the Paris

Exposition. A painting from the trip, Rocky Mountains in the Selkirk Range, near Canadian border, Mount Sir Donald [sic], is in an American public collection (Plate 21). To Bierstadt's disappointment, the painting was not purchased by the C.P.R. although Sir George Stephen acquired another work by him, Sunrise at Glacier Station.[81] As the size (and, quite likely, the $10,000 price) was stated as the reason for refusal by the company, Beirstadt painted a smaller version, Mount Sir Donald - Asulkan Glacier which was also apparently rejected.[82] The choice of subject of paintings was obviously to flatter one of the C.P.R. founders, Sir Donald Smith. Regarding the former Mount Sir Donald, Pringle cites a letter written while Bierstadt was in the Rockies in which Bierstadt states that he was waiting for Van Horne to come west and view the work, thus implying that he "must have been provided with a studio suite or a private car."[83]

In the painting, a fast-moving stream flows towards the foreground amidst trees with mountains rising among swirling clouds in the background. The similarly-shaped mountain suggests that Bell-Smith, with whom he was travelling, took Bierstadt to one of his favourite sketching sites, the subject of Bell-Smith's Glacier Stream, Selkirks, B.C. (Plate 19), where the American artist made the sketch for this much larger, vertically oriented painting. Bell-Smith's painting is a much smaller, more immediate work than the huge painting of his American companion. The billowing clouds encircling Bierstadt's mountains are reminiscent of his earlier western American paintings, as is the detail and finish and the dramatic lighting on the mountains. The amount of haze in the middle distance suggests that he had made his sketch (and photograph, perhaps) during one of the summer's frequent forest fires, mentioned by both artists.[84]

Besides Bell-Smith, Thomas Mower Martin (1838-1934) was a prolific painter of the Rockies. Beginning in 1887, he spent at least ten summers in the mountains. As the reviewer of the Colonial Exhibition in 1886 described it, much of his work was "picturesque in intention and composition."[85]

Martin was born in England and, like others mentioned, studied at the South Kensington School. He came to Canada in 1862 and lived most of his life in Toronto, becoming a founding member of the O.S.A. and the R.C.A. and, in 1877, director of the Ontario Government Art School. His medium was both watercolour and oil but his watercolour technique was superior. Joan Murray describes his work as following three main themes: the Primeval Forest, Rustic Canada, and Rocky Mountain Immensity. Referring to the latter, she notes Martin's frequently used compositional motif of sidescreens of trees with mountains in the background.[86] This, of course, relates to picturesque conventions. Martin's language in descriptions of the mountains as well as the forementioned themes of his work suggest a certain adherence to that mode of visual depiction. In "An artist's letter from the Rockies," a series of articles he wrote for The Week, Martin spoke of finding "pictures at every turn."[87]

In 1887, due to O'Brien's recommendation of him, Martin received a free railway pass and travelled to the West. Landscape (Plate 22), a watercolour dated that year, in the Glenbow Museum, equals the crisp, fresh colour of some works by O'Brien or Bell-Smith. It illustrates

Martin's use of sidescreens of trees, in this case of exaggerated verticality. The work does not focus on the mountains, nor are they given a sense of the grandeur or overwhelming aspect but, rather, they almost blend into the dark clouds behind. In 1907, Martin was the illustrator and Wilfred Campbell, the writer, of Canada, a typically nineteenth-century travel book lauding the attributes of the country. In describing the Rocky Mountains, Campbell writes of scenery where each of the mountains displayed "some characteristic beauty or distinctive grandeur" and of the "grandeur and transcendent beauty" of Mount Stephen.[88] These descriptions, accompanied by Martin's picturesque illustrations, provide another example of the difference between emotional response to and visual depiction of the Canadian Rockies during the period under discussion. This contrast has already been noted when the paintings and writings of several artists, both amateur and professional, were compared. Canada reveals that, even into the twentieth century, examples may be found where alpine scenery is at the same time verbally described within the eighteenth-century categories of the sublime and the beautiful and visually depicted as picturesque scenes with little, if any, suggestion of a sublime conception.

Martin also produced the uncharacteristically large Train in the Mountains (Plate 23), most likely in the 1890s, when larger paintings were being commissioned by the C.P.R. The work, in the Glenbow Museum, depicting a train travelling down a track which extends to the foreground, is painted in limited and exaggerated colours and strong contrast of darks and lights. The mountains, which are given a rough and jagged effect, are suitably imposing to meet the promotional needs of the C.P.R. This painting, like William Brymner's huge Mount Cheops from Rogers Pass (Plate 26) of about the same period, is much larger than most of the painter's work. Both paintings are examples of works which, as Dennis Reid points out, had they "not been commissioned by the C.P.R., . . . would not have been painted at all."[89]

Marmaduke Matthews (1837-1913), another painter who visited the West with passes from the C.P.R., painted in the Rockies during the summers of 1887 and 1889. Matthews was born in England and studied art both in Oxford, under the watercolourist, T.M. Richardson, and in London.[90] In 1860 he came to Toronto, where he lived for much of his life, becoming a founding member of the O.S.A. and the R.C.A.

The C.P.R. does not seem to have been impressed with Matthews who apparently relied on O'Brien to obtain a free railway pass for him. In a letter of 1887 to Van Horne, O'Brien, besides recommending Martin and Forshaw Day, added that, "another artist, Mr. Matthews, late secretary of the Academy, would like to go also. . . . If he does he will be my guest in the mountains and paint with me."[91]

Although most of his known Rocky Mountain works are watercolours, Matthews apparently produced larger oil paintings in his Toronto studio following the 1887 trip, three of which he unsuccessfully offered for sale to the C.P.R.[92] These paintings have not been located. An oil painting by Matthews of 1887, in the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, is Bow River (Plate 24), in which a somewhat arbitrary composition suggests the use of photography. Besides this, the painting displays attributes cited in connection with Fraser's use of photography, such as detailed treatment of background.[93]

In 1888, Matthews was offered a reduced fare, rather than a free pass, by the company. He was unable to afford this and he did not visit the mountains again until the next year. Little is known about his trip. Some of the resulting works were exhibited in the 1890 O.S.A.'s spring show in which Matthews and Bell-Smith were the main contributors of Rocky Mountain scenery. A review of one of Matthews' works, Shadow Valley, Selkirks, (whereabouts unknown) is a reminder of the fact that relatively few people had visited the Rockies at this time. The truthfulness of depictions of this most romantic of Canadian landscape subjects went unquestioned at times. In this case, the writer remarked that the colouring was "almost startling in its transitions and might well be doubted did it come from any other place than where nature's scheme of colour is prepared on the grandest and most majestic scale."[94] Although the C.P.R. did not appear to have been interested in Matthews' work, he apparently was still attempting to obtain commissions from the company as late as 1901,[95] and still exhibiting Rocky Mountain subjects in 1909.[96]

Although few Rocky Mountain subjects by him have been located, Forshaw Day (1837-1903), who was in the Rockies possibly only in 1887, serves to further illustrate the significance of the C.P.R.'s directives regarding subject matter to artists. The following year he was refused a free pass and does not seem to have visited the West again although he exhibited Rocky Mountain subjects for many years at the R.C.A. exhibitions. English-born, Day worked as a draughtsman in the Government Naval Yards in Halifax and sometimes gave private lessons in 'scene painting'[97] from the 1860s until 1879, when he began a long appointment as teacher of "Freehand Drawing" at the Royal Military College, Kingston, Ontario. The content of this course was likely modelled on the drawing and painting training given at the Royal Military College, Woolwich.

Prior to his 1887 trip to the West, Day received from Van Horne's secretary, A. Piers, a letter of instructions listing the areas he was to concentrate on in the mountains:

> the entire valley of the Bow River, Banff, Devils Lake (9 miles from Banff), the Beaverfoot Range . . . and Mount Stephen should be born in mind in the Rockies. . . . In the Selkirks Mount Carroll, the Hermit and Syndicate Peaks and Mount Ross will attract you.[98]

Referring to these directives, Pringle concludes that "the C.P.R. sought artists who would continue to express established and critically accepted subject matter."[99] The titles of works exhibited in the 1888 R.C.A. exhibition suggest that Day followed Van Horne's instructions. In 1889, he offered an oil painting, Ranges of the Selkirks, to the C.P.R. free of charge if Van Horne would place it in one of the company hotels.[100] This work has not been located.

Glacier, Mt. Cheops (Plate 25), an oil painting in a private collection, Calgary, Alberta, is, compositionally, similar to works by Bell-Smith such as Glacier Stream, Selkirks (Plate 19). Although the date for the latter work is later, exhibition records reveal that the subject of a glacial stream had been among Bell-Smith's 1887 output. It seems possible that the more established and competent Bell-Smith influenced Day directly or through examples of his work. However, the work's regular surface qualities differentiate it from the work of the former who employed looser brush strokes.

In the 1890s, the C.P.R. tended to commission specific large paintings from artists and the painters selected for these commissions were more likely to be Paris-trained. William Brymner (1855-1925) was one of such artists. It is known that he was sent to the West in 1886, 1892 and 1893.

Brymner came to Canada from Scotland with his family in 1867 and settled in Montreal soon after. Trained in Paris at the Académie Julien, with William Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury, he was a competent and serious painter by the time he first painted in the West in 1886. He had taught art at the Ottawa Art School and was to become the Director of Art classes at the Art Association of Montreal, a position he held until 1921. Janet Braide describes him as "committed to working from nature" and critical of painters who worked from photographs.[101] His French training had equipped him with skill in painting the figure and in the handling of tonal colouring. He was to become a member of the Canadian Art Club which, before the war, was the most progressive art association in Canada.

Pringle suggests that the C.P.R. felt that the inclusion of the human figure in its promotional art was needed to attract homesteaders and that "Van Horne was keenly aware that Brymner's French training offered a valuable opportunity to add a new dimension to landscape painting in the Dominion."[102] Three of the four paintings of the West he exhibited at the R.C.A. exhibition in 1887 included figures. Few of Brymner's Rocky Mountain paintings have been located. Mount

Cheops, Rogers Pass (Plate 26), in the Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa, is possibly from the 1886 trip[103] and is one of the several large paintings which Brymner did for the C.P.R.

It seems that Brymner was not comfortable painting works of this size, for he wrote to his father that painting a work of even four feet "was no joke."[104] However, the work is well composed with the "careful brush strokes Brymner used in the middle eighties when he had just returned from Paris."[105] Brymner had attempted to suggest the immensity of the mountain by employing small figures and a train which seem overwhelmed by its size. These suggestions of sublime effects were most likely merely his means of dealing with the C.P.R.'s demand for mountains on an imposing scale. The painting apparently hung in the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg for many years.

Brymner, along with John Hammond, was sent to the West again by the C.P.R. in 1892 and 1893. None of the paintings produced during these trips had been clearly identified. An article in May 1892 sets out his commission and the perks which accompanied it:

> The Canadian Pacific Railway has sent Mr. William Brymner, R.C.A., the well-known artist of this city, to the Rockies for the purpose of painting several large pictures of the beautiful mountain scenery through which the road runs. It is the intention of the Company to send these pictures to the Art Exhibition of the World's Fair [in Chicago the following year] where they will, besides being good testimony to the progress of art in Canada, give . . . thousands of visitors to the fair an idea of the wonderful scenery to be found in the Canadian Rockies. . . .[106]

Thus, it may be said that the object of the arrangement between the C.P.R. and Brymner in 1892 was to obtain what was basically advertising material for the company to be sent to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This is similar to the company's arrangement with John Fraser at the time of the Colonial Exhibition.

A letter to Van Horne during the 1892 trip reveals Brymner's attempts to comply with the company's requests. He appears to have used photographs supplied by the company, a practice he did not favour and which he was apparently compelled to undertake because of demands of the C.P.R. It appears that the paintings he did in the field were large. He wrote of a painting of Ross Peak at the Glacier, "which I have done on a large scale, 60 x 42 [inches], one 60 x 42 at Lake Louise. . . . Besides, I have material for other subjects with the aid of photographs. . . ."[107]

Braide states that Brymner's mountain paintings after 1892, unlike most of his other work, "are done with a full brush, brighter palette and none of the intimacy of his early work."[108] A review of the R.C.A. exhibition in 1893, which refers to Brymner's Rocky Mountain paintings as being in a "bold, clean-cut style," reinforces this assertion.[109] Some of these works, Braide states, were done in the artist's studio from earlier sketches or photographs. There are examples of these late paintings in the City of Toronto collection.

John Hammond (1843-1939), who accompanied Brymner to the West in 1892, may have first painted in the Rockies for the C.P.R. in 1891. Twenty years earlier, in 1871, he had worked as a photographic assistant to Benjamin Baltzly for Notman Studios on the western joint survey of A.R. Selwyn and Sandford Fleming.

Hammond grew up in Montreal and joined William Notman's Montreal photographic studio in 1869 or 1870. The survey he joined in 1871 was forced to turn back to the west coast before reaching the Yellowhead Pass but the trip was successful from a photographic point of view and a large collection of photographs, including some of the earliest of the Canadian Rockies, was obtained.[110]

On their return, Baltzly published his journal of the trip and, like other writers before him, described the mountains in nineteenth-century descriptive language. He envisioned the scenery through which the C.P.R. would pass as surpassing that of the American West in sublimity.

> The grand and majestic scenery of the Trans-Continental Railroad from Omaha to San Francisco would almost sink into oblivion when compared with the sublime and awe-inspiring panoramic scenes which ever and anon greet the eye as the cars would rush through the Rockies. . . . .[111]

Continuing to work for Notman, Hammond moved to their Saint John, New Brunswick studio in the 1880s. In a desire to further his painting career, in 1884 he visited Europe where he studied with Whistler in Dordrecht, Holland, and with François Millet (fils) in Barbizon. J. Russell Harper suggests that association with the former resulted in Hammond's "search for tone," and that he may have been the first Canadian to come in contact with Whistler.[112] Hammond eventually became known in the Maritimes for his atmospheric marine paintings.

On his return from Europe in 1885, Hammond became principal of the school recently established at the Owens Art Gallery in Saint John. This school was taken over by Mt. Allison University in 1893 and Hammond accordingly moved to Sackville. Earlier, during a visit to a

Montreal gallery, Van Horne saw some of Hammond's work and sought out the artist in his Saint John studio.[113] The two became friends and the C.P.R. soon began commissioning Hammond to paint for the company.

Hammond's first known trip to the Rockies came in 1892 with William Brymner.[114] Some of his initial oil sketches on small wooden panels are today works of charm and spontaneity. A finished work of 1892, The Three Sisters (Plate 27), in the Glenbow Museum reveals Hammond's European experience. The painter's ability to depict light reflected off water under an evening or morning sky and the work's tonal quality is a reminder of his Whistler-influenced concern with tone. The mountains in the background are treated more specifically than the foreground slough and, like Brymner, Hammond has attempted to please the C.P.R. by including a train, but has not allowed it to interfere with the composition. This painting, along with two by Brymner, was used to illustrate the C.P.R. pamphlet, Glimpses Along the Line in 1894.

Hammond's trip of 1892 resulted in the purchase of 17 of his western mountain paintings and their subsequent appearance in the C.P.R. pavillion at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago the following year.[115] This was the largest single purchase of works by one artist ever made by the company.[116] Besides this, it was the largest collection of work exhibited by one Canadian artist in Chicago. It is not known if The Three Sisters was one of the paintings exhibitied in the C.P.R. pavillion in Chicago. Hammond's C.P.R. paintings in Chicago apparently received good reviews and were cited as revealing "a new, independent school of Canadian mountainscape painting."[117]

Like Brymner, Hammond continued to receive commissions from the C.P.R. and assistance in gaining entry to international exhibitions such as the 1900 Paris Exhibition where he exhibited Rocky Mountain paintings in the C.P.R. pavillion. In 1901 a Sackville newspaper noted that "Prof. Hammond [had gone] to Montreal to confer with the C.P.R. authorities as to certain of his paintings appearing at the Pan-American exhibition."[118]

A painting of 1901 by Hammond is a clear example of a work which would not have been produced if it were not for the C.P.R. C.P.R. Station in the Rockies (Plate 28), in the Winnipeg Art Gallery collection, reveals "elements borrowed from the photograph [which] are informational and easily identified."[119] Pringle writes of this work whose "straightforward, illustrative quality, varying distinctly from his characteristic 'atmospheric' works . . . suggests the painting was completed following strict instructions as to composition and style."[120] The mountains in the background seem incongruous, lowered and brought foward, all of which points to the use of a photograph. The lowered effect brings to mind the 1886 directive from the C.P.R. to John Fraser advising him in the use of photographs for which a wide-angled lens had been employed. This painting may have been intended as a companion piece to Brymner's Kicking Horse Pass, according to Pringle, who points out the almost identical size of the two 1901 "promotion Poster-like" paintings.[121]

Another artist who created large paintings for the C.P.R. in the 1890s was George Horne Russell (1861-1933) who likely visited the Rockies in 1892 and 1896. The dates of other visits and the nature of his commissions remain unknown although it is likely that he visited the West again in 1902.[122]

Russell studied at the Aberdeen School of Art in Scotland and, like several other C.P.R. painters of the Rockies, at the South Kensington School of Art. In 1889, apparently at the suggestion of Van Horne, he arrived in Montreal.[123] Like other painters before him who immigrated to the city, he began to work for Notman Studios. He remained there until 1906. As a painter, besides landscape, he also produced many portraits. Between 1922 and 1926 he served as president of the R.C.A.

Some of Russell's paintings, now unlocated, were used to illustrate Glimpses Along the Line, already mentioned in connection with Brymner and Hammond. In 1892 and 1893, Russell was first commissioned by the C.P.R. to paint in the Selkirks.[124] The result of a later commission for the railway is Kicking Horse Pass (Plate 29). This painting, along with Hammond's Three Sisters, hung for years in the Palliser Hotel, Calgary, and is now in the Glenbow Museum. Its attempt at a dramatic portrayal of a train passing through the mountains at night suffers from a lack of attention to detail and loose, ineffective brushwork. Photographic elements in this work which Thomas regards as easily identified include 'filled-in' areas and a suggestion of cropping.[125] Once again, the railway is incorporated into the painting, in this case awkwardly overemphasized. Pringle suggests that "the dictatorial policies of Thomas Shaughnessy [president of the C.P.R. from 1899] doubtlessly had much to do with the artistically poor results."[126] Russell was also apparently commissioned to paint sketches for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and large paintings for the Canadian National Railway after its establishment in the 1920s. Illustrations by him in the 1914 travel book, Among the Canadian Alps,[127] are credited to the former company and some of his large paintings for the C.N.R. are still in the possession of the company.

One of the few painters from Great Britain to be sponsored by the C.P.R. (besides J.A. Aitken) was Edward Roper (1832-c.1904). He obtained pass privileges from the company in 1887 and produced a number of watercolours and oil paintings of the Rockies and Selkirks, some of which were used to illustrate a travel book he published in 1891.

Little information is available concerning Roper's life. He first came to Canada in 1847 and resided here for periods at least until 1870. The Public Archives of Canada collection of Roper's work contains a microfilm of a sketch book which indicates that he also visited central Canada and the United States in 1883.[128] This trip resulted in the publication of Muskoka: The Picturesque Playground of Canada, a series of lithographs of the Muskoka area of Ontario.[129] Roper also published travel books illustrated by himself based on trips to Australia and New Zealand. He last visited North America apparently in 1890, when he toured the Yukon and Alaska.

Roper's published work, By Track and Trail, A Journey Through Canada, which describes his 1887 visit, includes anecdotal comments as well as descriptions of scenery. He was an amateur naturalist and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and the book includes descriptions of the flora and fauna. Many of his works reveal picturesque conventions and subject matter which suggests a nineteenth-century picturesque sensibility, favouring rustic or merely quaint elements. They contain detailed foregrounds in which bear cubs play or figures stroll and, in the case of the Kicking Horse Valley, for instance, without any hint of the desolation of the forest caused by fires in 1887. Such a subject as the blackened ruins of the mountains sides, which Roper vividly describes in his book, would not have fit into the repertoire of a nineteenth-century English watercolourist with a predilection for picturesque subject matter; nor, one might add, would such a subject have proved acceptable to the promotional interests of the C.P.R. Roper is known to have been under some obligation to the company for he wrote to Van Horne's assistant, A. Piers, the following March that he had sent four Rocky Mountain views to Scott's Gallery in Montreal for Van Horne to appraise.[130]

The Valley of the Kicking Horse, and to the Van Horne Range in the Canadian Rockies (Plate 30), an oil painting in the Public Archives of Canada, appears to have been used for one of the illustrations in By Track and Trail. The 'blasted tree', a picturesque convention, is placed in the foreground with bear cubs at play. This and the mountains in the background silhouetted against a pale evening or morning sky give little hint of Roper's description of the Kicking Horse Valley as "the most sublime mountain scenery on the continent."[131] Roper's descriptions of the mountain scenery resemble that of other artists and writers mentioned in this study in his use of nineteenth-century nature adjectives. The area of Mount Sir Donald in the Selkirks was, for instance, "a wilderness of nameless peaks.

Grand, sublime . . . past all my powers of description, a portrayal, but hardly beautiful; it was more a scene of dread and mystery."[132]

The only known continental European artist to be sponsored by the C.P.R. was the French painter, Gaston Roullet (1847-1925), who travelled to the West in 1887.[133] Pringle cites correspondence in 1887 between O'Brien and Van Horne who asked the former to look after Roullet while he was painting in the mountains.[134] Roullet, who had studied with Jules Noël and had exhibited in the Paris Salon by 1874, was sent by the French government to paint scenes across Canada. He exhibited paintings, drawings and photographs at the Art Association of Montreal in the fall of 1887. Pringle states that the titles of the paintings reveal no Rocky Mountain scenes but that the drawings and photographs were not titled. An oil painting by Roullet, Vue de Calgary, was recently sold from its collection by the Hôtel Drouet in Paris and is no longer available for study.[135]

The patronage of artists by the C.P.R. should not be mentioned without adding that the most powerful patron, Van Horne himself, also painted in the Rockies. The railway magnate apparently took up painting in the 1890s, when the demands of his position with the C.P.R. decreased. Although he was an honorary member of the R.C.A., he did not exhibit in the annual exhibitions. It is likely that the membership was bestowed on him as a patron rather than as an artist.

Van Horne was born in Illinois and, having begun to work as a telegraph operator, he eventually became a successful railway administrator. His employment with the C.P.R., culminating with his appointment to the presidency in 1888, has been outlined. An early advocate of French painting, Van Horne was one of those who encouraged J.W. Morrice to go to Paris to study art in 1890.

Although he was largely self-taught, Van Horne received some instruction from Percy Woodcock (1855-1938), a Canadian painter who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He is known to have accompanied such established artists as Homer Watson and Horatio Walker on sketching trips during the 1890s.[136] According to his biographer, Van Horne had an "insatiable desire for new effects [derived by] experimenting in colours."[137]

Van Horne seems to have painted primarily landscapes and rarely attempted animals or figures. He worked in oil, presumably disposed towards the textural effects and ease of handling that oil paint possessed. According to his biographer, Van Horne worked on his paintings late at night.[138] He likely used sketches or even photographs and worked these into oil paintings under gas light in his studio. In paintings of the mountains, he reveals an interest in atmospheric effects which recalls his suggestions to O'Brien in 1886 regarding the depiction of mountains and mists. An undated painting from the late 1890s or 1910s is Mount Cheops in the Canadian Rockies (Plate 31), in the Imperial Oil of Canada collection.[139] Like many of the paintings Van Horne was then commissioning for the C.P.R., it is a fairly large work, measuring four feet in height. Unlike many of the paintings, it is not a vista, with tree-lined valley and background filled with mountain peaks. The artist seems to have sought out a subject which could be treated with limited detail. Mount Cheops, so named for its simple, pyramidal shape, rises above a dark frieze of trees and low-lying mists. This composition is similar to several works by A.P. Coleman, another amateur.

An artist who was commissioned by the C.P.R. after the Van Horne era was Adelaide (Mrs. H.A.) Langford (1854-1939). About 1916, she produced a series of 16 murals which are still in place in the C.P.R. station in Vancouver.[140]

Langford (née Wynyard) was born in Toronto and trained at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1898 and 1903 and at the Slade School, London. By 1902, she was in Vancouver where she advertised her classes in drawing and painting.[141] For unspecified periods, she lived in Winnipeg where she apparently designed books for provincial normal schools. A painting by her was commissioned by the C.P.R. for the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg at about the same period as the Vancouver station murals commission. Narrative and landscape paintings exhibited by her in 1916 were described as "virile works" which "would not be out of place in any British or Continental gallery."[142] In Vancouver, where she spent the latter part of her life, Langford taught art at the Vancouver Art Institute after 1920.[143]

The 16 murals were apparently intended to depict "typical Canadian scenes observed from a passing train."[144] They are arranged in a strip between the ceiling and entablature of the station's pseudo-Classical pilasters. Included are several scenes in the Rocky Mountains which suggest the use of photographs through their limited range of dark colour and apparently arbitrary compositions. That the murals were to suggest the viewing of scenery from a passing train relates them not only to the panorama paintings of the nineteenth century which were unwound mechanically before the eyes of the view, but also to the museum dioramas which featured panoramic sweeps of the landscape.[145]

Summary

The influence of the C.P.R. and William C. Van Horne on the paintings of the Rocky Mountains produced under their sponsorship may be regarded as substantial. The poor situation for landscape painters in Canada during the period under consideration--especially after the decade of the 1870s had further diminished the meagre sales of art in Canada--made resistance to the commissions offered by the company difficult for most artists.

This chapter has further supported the assertions of Dennis Reid and Allan Pringle that not only did the C.P.R. affect the number of Rocky Mountain paintings produced and the locations in which they were produced, but they also influenced the style of some of these works. This influence is particularly notable in respect to the large oil paintings of the "second wave," that is, works by painters who visited the Rockies in the 1890s and later. An examination of some of those paintings and the context in which they were produced has clearly supported Reid's assertion that "had they not been commissioned by the C.P.R. they would not have been painted at all." The large paintings demanded of artists by the C.P.R. in the 1890s resulted in works untypical of the work of most of the painters who were involved. The artists included T. Mower Martin, William Brymner, John Hammond and others. The predominance of oil, rather than watercolour, paintings was also partly due to this C.P.R. directive.

The effect of the company's patronage of artists on Canadian landscape painting was significant. As Pringle states,

> The C.P.R.'s free pass programs and its art commissions and purchases were so successful in attracting painters to the Northwest that by 1887 Rocky Mountain landscapes dominated Canadian art. . . . Not only did the C.P.R. offer financial incentives for Canadian artists to paint uniquely Canadian subjects but it promoted the Northwest landscape as 'national' in character through the sponsorship of exhibitions abroad and in the United States.[146]

This statement is supported by, for instance, a review of 1891 in which the writer described the significant number of artists and their paintings of "our Rockies" as almost making "a school of Canadian painting."[147] The reference to "our Rockies" points to the element of nationalism which accompanied this phenomenon. "Glaciers, peaks, valleys," the review continues, "streams, mists . . . and the warm, inviting smiles of the vales come to us on the canvases of these masters bearing a momentous message to which we are not yet fully awakened, 'Yours, Yours, Yours, Ye Canadians'."

The chapter has also revealed the C.P.R.'s role in encouraging the close relation between landscape painters and photography. In a period when critics and public alike "persistently called for verisimilitude," the company promoted photography through direct purchase, as *aide-memoire* or as substitute for the direct observation of nature. The photographs were taken by early photographs like Alexander Henderson and William M. Notman or by the artists themselves. From J.A. Fraser's commission to paint from photographs for the 1886 Colonial Exhibition to William Brymner's untypical acceptance of the use of photographs as a source for paintings, the painters working for the company were encouraged to avail themselves of the assistance provided by photography.

The lingering habit of seeing alpine landscape in terms of picturesque composition is also evident in many paintings in this chapter. This way of depicting landscape is particularly true of painters who had trained in England. Of these English-trained artists, a large percentage studied at the South Kensington School of Art or the National Art Training School, as it officially was known. The training at this school, which became the Royal College of Art in 1897, concentrated on drawing and it seems that its teaching of painting did not challenge the previously accepted modes of painting landscape that had become traditional in England. Thus it appears that many of these South Kensington-trained painters turned initially to the British watercolour tradition in which the depiction of landscape in picturesque terms was still deemed appropriate. Other influences such as training in France later altered the approach of many of these artists.

Also seen in this chapter has been the fact that some of the artists who created picturesque interpretations of the mountains at the same time employed in their writings descriptive terms for nature which were current in early nineteenth-century England. The attitude behind these descriptions insisted on the uplifting, if not awe-inspiring, effect of rugged scenery. Thus, an artist such as Edward Roper could both paint a scene in the Kicking Horse Valley in which bear cubs frolic in a foreground of carefully arranged broken stumps, and also describe the area around Mount Sir Donald as a "scene of dread and mystery."

Some of these early painters for the C.P.R. had been trained in Europe. Van Horne, besides being the main promoter of art as a means of advertising the C.P.R., was an enlightened art collector with an interest in contemporary European painting. Thus, particularly in the 1890s, he encouraged painters who had been trained in France or revealed a sympathy for French methods. This is revealed, for instance, in his patronage of John Hammond and William Brymner, both of whom produced, besides their large C.P.R. pieces, accomplished western alpine paintings. Van Horne's preference for the work of these artists is known and, in the case of Hammond, resulted in the C.P.R. being one of the Maritime painter's most loyal patrons.

The period of Van Horne's association with the C.P.R., 1881 to 1899, witnessed the most intensive employment of artists as producers of promotional material for the company. However, as will be revealed in the following chapter, artists continued to be supported by the company well into the twentieth century.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter III

[1] Donald Allan Pringle, First draft of "Artists of the Canadian Pacfic Railroad," 1881-1900," M.A. thesis, Concordia Univ., Montreal, 1984, p. 24, henceforth referred to as "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS. At the time of writing this chapter, only this draft was available. Although parts of the draft were reorganized by Pringle for the final thesis, the bulk of his findings were included in the draft. This chapter is indebted to the valuable work done by Pringle in the above as well as related publications.

[2] W. Blackburn Hart, "Canadian Art and Artists," New England Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly 4, No. 1 (April 1891), p. 155.

[3] Dennis Reid, "Our Own Country Canada," Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada/ National Museums of Canada, 1979), p. 3. That the Canadian government's and the C.P.R.'s interests were closely bound together is seen in the fact that the photographer, Oliver Buell, by 1886, went "To Europe in the interest of the Gov't. [sic] and C.P.R. to exhibit and lecture to attract both tourists and emmigrants." (Otto Klotz, Diary, in Mary Poutka, "Canadian Mountain Scenery," P.A.C. [Internal Report], April 1974, p. 2; as quoted in Professor Oliver Buell, 1844-1910, Photographer, exhibition catalogue, text by David W. Monaghan [Montreal: Concordia Art Gallery, organized by the Canadian Railway Museum with assistance from the C.P.R. and Graetz Inc., 1984], p. 6).

[4] The C.P.R. Immigration Department distributed "folders, maps, and pamphlets in ten languages to thousands of agencies in Britain and over 200 centres in Northern Europe." (Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 8). Besides that, Pringle points out, the C.P.R.'s London office displayed photographs and paintings of Canadian scenery and circulated them around Great Britain. For an examination of the promotional activities of the railway, see, E.J. Hart, The Selling of Canada, The C.P.R. and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983).

[5] Pringle states that, even by 1881, Van Horne had borrowed photographs and watercolours from Sandford Fleming for promotional purposes. (Allan Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway," Journal of Canadian Art History 8, No. 1 [1984], p. 51). These presumably included the photographs taken by John Hammond and Benjamin Baltzly during the joint survey of the C.P.R. and the Geological Survey of Canada in 1871. Photographs of the Rockies were also widely reproduced in magazines by 1888. See also William Notman, the Stamp of a Studio, exhibition catalogue, text by Stanley G. Triggs, (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach House Press, 1985), p. 72.

[6] The Globe, 21 May 1878; as quoted in Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 236.

[7] The Hague School, Collecting in Canada at the Turn of the Century, exhibition catalogue, text by Marta H. Hurdalek (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983), p. 16; Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 29. See also, Guy Pothier, "Van Horne: builder, hero, artist," Barometer 9 March 1978, p. 14; and Toronto Saturday Night, 25 April 1896, p. 9. Included in his collection were "old and recognized masters, as well as works by Courbet, Daumier, Pissarro, Cezanne, Cassatt, Ryder, Toulouse-Lautrec and El Greco . . ." (Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, pp. 29-30).

[8] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 30.

[9] Ibid., pp. 30-1.

[10] Barbara Novak, Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 174-5. In England by the 1920s many artists produced paintings, posters and other advertising material for British railways but it is difficult to find references to this practice taking place in the nineteenth century. See Walter Shaw Sparrow, Advertising and British Art (London: John Lane, 1924).

[11] Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne," pp. 73-4.

[12] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 27.

[13] After the completion of this study, a watercolour by Aitken, Summit of the Rockies (29 x 49.5 cm.), was discovered in a Calgary private collection.

[14] O'Brien was acquainted with the American painter, Albert Bierstadt and had worked with Thomas Moran on the illustrations for Picturesque Canada (1882). Forbes and Fraser both exhibited with American art societies.

[15] Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 228.

[16] Ibid., pp. 230, 318; Allan Pringle, "Albert Bierstadt in Canada," American Art Journal 17 (Winter 1985), p. 4.

[17] See Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 38; Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne," p. 63.

[18] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, pp. 35-6.

[19] Reid suggests that he visited the Rockies in 1882 with his missionary brother, and Pringle claims that he went west in 1882 to make sketches for Picturesque Canada. (Dennis Reid, A Concise History

of Canadian Painting [Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973], p. 88; Pringle, "Albert Bierstadt, p. 6). However, Doreen Walker, refers to O'Brien as sketching in eastern Canada in 1882 and implies that he did not visit the Rockies at that time. (Doreen Walker, "Some Early British Columbia Views and their Photographic Sources," The Beaver, Summer 1983, Outfit 314:1, p. 45).

[20] L.R. O'Brien to Sir Charles Tupper, 29 April 1886; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 37.

[21] Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 423.

[22] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 45.

[23] L.R. O'Brien to W.C. Van Horne, 10 March 1887; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 46.

[24] O'Brien sketchbook, Public Archives of British Columbia.

[25] Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 400.

[26] Ibid., p. 398.

[27] See Walker, "Some Early British Columbia Views."

[28] The Mail, 4 Sept. 1886; as quoted in Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 397.

[29] Barbara Novak, in Nature and Culture, discusses the frequent occurrence of stumps in the mid nineteenth-century American landscape paintings of Thomas Cole and Sanford Gifford, artists who represent different generations of the Hudson River School, and their picturesque associations. Cole was dismayed over the destruction of trees which was necessitated by the settling of America. Novak refers to the use of the cut stump and its associations with man's relentless march of progress in the United States as the "man-made or unnatural picturesque" as opposed to the natural picturesque in the Gilpin sense (pp. 160-6). These distinctions by Novak suggest the use of the motif of the shattered stump as social comment as opposed to the earlier, aesthetic sense.

[30] See Elizabeth Brown, "A Wilderness for All," in A Wilderness for All: Landscapes of Canada's Mountain Parks, 1885-1960, exhibition catalogue, text by Elizabeth Brown and Allan Pringle (Banff: Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, 1985), p. 7. Works cited are: The Glacier of the Selkirks, 1886, National Gallery of Canada; Cloud-Capped Towers, Dr. and Mrs. Donald Grace, Calgary; and Illecillewaet Glacier, Mount Sir Donald, private collection, Vancouver.

[31] The Globe, 15 July 1887; as quoted in Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 411.

[32] He did go West in 1888 but went straight to the coast, rather than stopping in the mountains. However, his name was still associated with Rocky Mountain paintings in 1891. Reviewing the R.C.A. exhibition of that year (in which O'Brien appears to have exhibited only one Rocky Mountain subject), S.A. Curzon wrote of "our Rockies" in the hands of F.M. Bell-Smith and O'Brien who were "almost making a school of Canadian painting" themselves. (Dominion Illustrated, 4 April 1891, p. 336).

[33] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 41. However, William Withrow, author of the original Our Own Country Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889), who spent time with Forbes and O'Brien at Glacier that summer, relates that Forbes was working on a sketch of Mount Sir Donald, the result of which, he states, was later exhibited at the Toronto Art Gallery. (pp. 523-6).

[34] This presumably refers to South Kensington School(s) (of Art) which is the institution, officially known as the National Art Training School, at which a significant number of artists in this study trained. These included, besides Forbes, John A. Fraser, Frederic Bell-Smith, T. Mower Martin, G. Horne Russell, Forshaw Day, Henry J. de Forest and Emily Warren. It refers to the government school of design, associated with the South Kensington Museum, which appears to have been, by 1860, mainly a "drawing school." (Nikolas Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present [1940; rpt. New York: Da Capo, 1973], p. 256). See also n. 47, this chapter; and Frank P. Brown, South Kensington and its Art Training (London: Longmans, Green, 1912). In 1897 the school became the Royal College of Art.

[35] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 38.

[36] R.A.M. Stevenson, "Art in Canada," The Magazine of Art, 9 (1886), p. 519, refers to "A Rocky Mountain Canon" [sic], and "Mount Stephen" as interesting "only as examples of patience and fidelity."

[37] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 39.

[38] A label on the back of this work asserts that Forbes was in the mountains with A.P. Coleman in 1883-84. No record of this trip, nor of Coleman himself being in the West before 1884, has been found.

[39] Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 370. Margery Tanner Hadley, author of "Photography and the Landscape of Travel: Western Canada, 1884-1914," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Calgary, 1984, has stated that she is not aware of any other photographers visiting the Rocky or Selkirk mountains before 1884 other than Baltzly and Hammond. (Letter received from Margery Tanner Hadley, 6 Sept. 1985).

[40] Kathryn L. Kollar, "John A. Fraser, (1838-1898)," M.F.A. thesis, Concordia Univ., Montreal, 1981, pp. 2-3. Kollar also states that the no nonsense approach to art training at Kensington forbade

life drawing and that its curriculum content implied that "Fine Art" was to be disregarded as having no practical application. She writes that the largest classes were in elementary drawing and modelling.

[41] Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 6. See also *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900*, exhibition catalogue, text by Ann Thomas (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979), p. 33.

[42] Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 61.

[43] *John Arthur Fraser (1838-1898), Watercolours*, exhibition catalogue, text by Kathryn L. Kollar (Montreal: Concordia Art Gallery, 1984), pp. 6, 12, n. 16.

[44] Henderson and Buell had photographed the Rockies in 1885. See Reid, *Our Own Country Canada*, pp. 374-9, and *Oliver Buell, 1844-1910*, p. 4.

[45] W.C. Van Horne to John A. Fraser, 6 Jan. 1886; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 57.

[46] John A. Fraser to W.C. Van Horne, 20 Feb. 1885; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 60.

[47] J.A. Fraser to W.C. Van Horne, 16 Feb. 1886; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 60.

[48] J.W.H. Watts, who was in charge of hanging the Canadian pictures, was overruled by the C.P.R. and friends. (Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 87). Van Horne was, as to be expected, behind these arrangements. He wrote Alexander Begg, an employee of the C.P.R. in London, "to keep a sharp lookout when the day arrives for arranging the Gallery, to ensure that justice is done to our pictures." (W.C. Van Horne to Alexander Begg, 27 April 1886; as quoted in Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 87).

[49] Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 81. The author states, acknowledging earlier research of Dennis Reid, that Senchoile should probably read, "Lenchoil". (Chap. 4, n. 38).

[50] Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 88.

[51] Reid, *Our Own Country Canada*, p. 382.

[52] J.E. Hodgson, "Report on the Canadian Section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition," in *Report of the Minister of Agriculture for 1886* (Ottawa: Dominion Government, 1887), pp. 61-8; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 65.

[53] Stevenson, "Art in Canada," p. 520.

[54] John A. Fraser, "An Artist's Experience in the Canadian Rockies," address to the Canadian Club, New York, pub. in Canadian Leaves (New York: Napoleon Thompson, 1887), pp. 233-4.

[55] Kollar, "John A. Fraser," p. 95.

[56] Ibid., p. 89.

[57] Kollar cites these photographs as: MP 119/78 and MP 120/78. (Chap. 4, n. 63).

[58] Fact and Fiction, p. 98. The author points out that "the experience of transposing from one two-dimensional surface to another is such that, in the interests of either realism or naturalism or whatever style convention the artist was motivated by, an arbitrary 'colouring-in' is necessitated."

[59] Ann Thomas, "The Role of Photography in Canadian Painting, 1860-1900: Relationships Between the Photographic Image and a Style of Realism in Painting," M.F.A. thesis, Concordia Univ., Montreal, 1976, p. 78.

[60] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 209.

[61] Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 436.

[62] Nine Regional Artists, exhibition catalogue (London: London Regional Art Gallery, 1978), p. 8.

[63] Frederic Bell-Smith, "An Artist's Reminiscences," Canadian Alpine Journal, 1918, reproduced in Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith (1846-1923), exhibition catalogue, text by Roger Boulet (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1977).

[64] John E. Stanley, "The Premier Painter of the Rockies," Macleans Magazine XXV, No. 2 (Dec. 1912); as quoted in Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith, pp. 148-151.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Winnipeg Free Press, 18 Oct. 1887.

[67] Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith, p. 21.

[68] Ibid., pp. 33, 42. Some were taken by F.M. Bell-Smith, Jr., who was a photographer in Berlin, Ontario, before entering the ministry.

[69] Winnipeg Free Press, 18 Oct. 1887.

[70] See Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (London: Phaidon, 1971), Chap. IX: "The Aesthetics of the Sketch."

71 Pringle, "Albert Bierstadt," p. 14. Besides these influences, Bell-Smith was, by 1893, associated with the French-trained artists, William Brymner and Franklin Brownell through the Toronto Palette Club. (See Toronto Saturday Night, 21 Jan. 1893, p. 14).

72 Frederic Martlett Bell-Smith, p. 71.

73 F.M. Bell-Smith to W.C. Van Horne, 23 April 1888; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 145.

74 Pringle regards this exhibition as illustrating "the influence of the C.P.R. on the Canadian art market at this time. Bell-Smith, like O'Brien, Matthews, Martin and Fraser, was a Toronto (London) based artist, yet he chose to hold his most important exhibition of the year . . . in Montreal." (Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 106).

75 "The Exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts," The Week, 24 May 1888. However, the Toronto Saturday Night, 19 May 1888, p. 7, treated the Rocky Mountain artists more equitably.

76 Bell-Smith, "An Artist's Reminiscences."

77 Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 292.

78 Gordon Hendricks, Albert Bierstadt, Painter of the American West (New York: Harry N. Abrams/Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1974), p. 149.

79 Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting, 1839-1880 (New York: Garland, 1977). The author states that contemporary critics who complained that the work seemed to be two paintings in one, were seeing the effect of Bierstadt's use of stereoscopic photography whereby the foreground appears to leap out toward the eye, the middle space seems compressed and the background appears as a series of flat planes. (p. 80). Bierstadt's interest in stereoscopic views as aids in painting is revealed in a letter to The Crayon 10 July 1859: "We have taken may stereoscopic views, but not so many of the mountain scenery as I could wish, owing to various obstacles attached to the process." (Hendricks, p. 73). It is known that Bierstadt and his professional-photographer brothers were producing stereoscopic views by 1860 when they issued a catalog of such views for sale. (Catherine H. Campbell, "Albert Bierstadt and the White Mountains," Archives of American Art 21, No. 3 [1981], p. 15).

80 Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 126.

81 The painting is still in Stephen's Montreal residence, now the Mount Stephen Club. Stephen also commissioned works from Bierstadt

for his London home. One of these was Mount Baker, a painting which was cited earlier to point out Van Horne's control over C.P.R.-related commissions.

[82] Pringle, "Albert Bierstadt," p. 23. This work is in the Haggin Museum, Stockton, California.

[83] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 172, n. 428.

[84] Hendricks, p. 292; Frederic Bell-Smith, p. 23.

[85] Stevenson, "Art in Canada," p. 520.

[86] Joan Murray, "Grand Old Man of Canadian Art, T. Mower Martin," Canadian Antique Collector, Nov./Dec. 1972, p. 15. These classifications do not appear to take into account such watercolours by Martin as Interior of the Great Illecillewaet Glacier in the Glenbow Museum.

[87] The Week, 30 Aug. 1889, p. 617. Martin also mentioned the forest fires of the summer and "the smoke which has shrouded the mountains so long," The Week, 27 Sept. 1889, p. 682.

[88] Wilfred Campbell, Canada, illus. T. Mower Martin (London: A. and C. Black, 1907), pp. 248-9; 252-3.

[89] Reid, Our Own Country Canada, p. 437.

[90] Colin S. MacDonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1967).

[91] L.R. O'Brien to W.C. Van Horne, 3 May 1887; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 92.

Besides providing a new sketching ground, the trip to the West must have been a holiday away from the heat of a Toronto summer. Years later, Matthews' daughter recalled her father's often-told story of riding on the cow-catcher of the train, probably with O'Brien, who recounted the same event. (Mrs. A.C. Mackie, Toronto, to Mrs. Eleanor Ediger, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 28 Aug. 1960).

[92] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, pp. 116-7.

[93] Thomas, "The Role of Photography in Canadian Painting," p. 77.

[94] Toronto Saturday Night, 31 May 1890, p. 7.

[95] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 197. In the 1893 Chicago World Exposition, he exhibited five watercolours of subjects in the West. Canadian Department of Fine Art, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 (Chicago: C. Blackett Robinson, 1893).

[96] See *Canadian National Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts*, Toronto, 1909.

[97] In 1875, Day advertised that he would teach students to paint oil and watercolour scenery, "including Cape Breton Island and . . . Summer, Fall and Winter Scenes." (*Halifax Reporter* 11 March 1875; as quoted in *John O'Brien, 1831-1891*, exhibition catalogue, text by Patrick Condon Laurette [Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 1984], p. 45).

[98] A. Piers to Forshaw Day, 25 May 1887; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 120.

[99] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 120.

[100] *Ibid*., p. 122.

[101] *William Brymner, 1855-1925, A Retrospective*, exhibition catalogue, text by Janet Braide (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1979), p. 28.

[102] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, pp. 72-3. However, the praise that Brymner had received for his work in the Colonial Exhibition may have influenced Van Horne. Brymner had been mentioned for his "excellent open-air figure subjects" and his *Wreath of Flowers* was singled out as the work of a "skilled draughtsman and an artist well versed in the mysteries of suggestive handling." (Stevenson, "Art in Canada," p. 519).

[103] *William Brymner*, p. 34.

[104] *Ibid*.

[105] *Ibid*.

[106] "An important commission," *The Montreal Gazette*, 30 May 1892; as quoted in *William Brymner*, p. 38.

[107] William Brymner to W.C. Van Horne, 13 Aug. 1892; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 188. It is possible that the Lake Louise painting is the same as *Lake Louise, Rocky Mountains*, in the 1893 World Columbian Exposition.

[108] *William Brymner*, p. 35. In 1893, Brymner was accompanied by Edmond Dyonnet when he visited the Rockies. (Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 190). Paintings of the Rockies by Dyonnet have not been located.

[109] *Arcadia*, 1 May 1893, p. 449.

110 Some of these photographs have been published in Benjamin Baltzly, Photographs and Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia: 1871 introd. Andrew Birrell (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1978). Birrell mentions that the American and British sections of the Boundary Commission ten years earlier had both attempted to take photographs. (p. 19).

111 Benjamin Baltzly, "Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia: 1871," Gazette [Montreal] 18 June-1 Aug. 1872; as quoted in Benjamin Baltzly, Photographs and Journal, p. 131.

112 Harper, Painting in Canada, A History, p. 227. The titles of works which he exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1885 (the year that Brymner also exhibted there), Soir and Etude, suggest an interest in mood and atmosphere by that time. (See Sylvain Allaire, "Les canadiens au salon official de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: sections peintre et dessin: Journal of Canadian Art History IV, No. 2 [1977/78]).

113 George F.G. Stanley, "John Hammond," in The CPR West, the Iron Road and the Making of a Nation, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntrye, 1984), p. 219.

114 Stanley states that he went west with Brymner in 1891; however, Brymner was in Europe that summer. Pringle makes no mention of an 1891 trip.

115 Marian Braid Macaulay, John Hammond (1843-1939), Lives and Works of the Canadian Artists Series, ed. R.H. Stacey (Dundurn Press, n.d.), no. pag. Hammond had only one painting of the Rockies in the exhibition proper, that is, not in the C.P.R. pavilion.

116 Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 194.

117 Macaulay, n. pag. Whether, as in the case of Fraser at the Colonial Exhibition, the C.P.R. was involved in procuring this favourable review, is not known.

118 The Argosy [Sackville], Feb. 1901; as quoted in John Hammond, R.C.A., 1843-1939, exhibition catalogue, text by Luke Rombout (Sackville, 1967), no. pag.

119 Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, p. 94.

120 Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 196.

121 Ibid.

122 William Notman, the Stamp of a Studio, p. 147.
Other painters mentioned by Pringle as receiving C.P.R. passes in the 1890s include C.J. Way (1835-1919) and Alexander Phimister Proctor (1862-1950). Way went west in 1898 but may not have

actually painted the mountains. (Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 207). Proctor, the well-known animal sculptor, received passes on several occasions, beginning in 1890. (*Ibid*., p. 186). Although he was primarily interested in sketching *game*, he also did landscape sketches on some of these trips.

[123] Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, p. 276. Pringle does not refer to correspondence to support the contention that Van Horne issued such an invitation.

[124] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 198.

[125] *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography*, p. 94.

[126] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 200.

[127] Lawrence Burpee, *Among the Canadian Alps* (New York: John Lane, 1914).

[128] *Image of Canada, Documentary watercolours and drawings from the permanent collection of the Public Archives of Canada*, exhibition catalogue, text by Michael Bell (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972). The original sketch book, at that time (1972), was in the possession of the David Mitchell Gallery, Ltd.

[129] *The Painted Past, Selected Paintings from the Picture Division of the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa: 1984), pp. 36-7.

[130] Edward Roper to A. Piers, 4 March 1888; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 124.

[131] Edward Roper, *By Track and Trail, A Journey Through Canada* (London: W.H. Auden, 1891), p. 140.

[132] *Ibid*., p. 337.

[133] *Paris Canada*, 12 April 1888; as quoted in *Colloque, les relations entre la France et le Canada* (Paris: Les Cahiers du Centre Cultural Canadien, No. 3, 1974). This reference was sent as photocopied pages and may be cited incorrectly.

[134] W.C. Van Horne to L.R. O'Brien, 29 July 1887; as quoted in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 96.

[135] Letter received from Anne Roquebert, Etablissement public du Musée d' Orsay, Paris, 17 Oct. 1985.

[136] *Toronto Saturday Night*, 26 Sept. 1896.

[137] Vaughan, p. 179. As already suggested, Van Horne held strong views on art. Percy Woodcock wrote that he "had a tremendous

influence on anyone less positive . . . and I often had to deliberately stay away from his studio until I left for Europe." (Vaughan, p. 179).

[138] Ibid.

[139] The Imperial Oil collection was purchased from Robert Manuge, a New Brunswick art dealer. The works, which are dated between 1898 and 1910, were acquired by Manuge from another dealer who had bought them from the current owner of Van Horne's summer home on Minister's Island, N.B. (Elizabeth Hiscott, "Art and Van Horne," Atlantic Advocate, Jan. 1977).

[140] J.G. Shave, C.P.R. Public Relations and Advertising, to Christina Johnson-Dean, 28 Aug. 1978, collection of Christina Johnson-Dean.

[141] News Advertiser [Vancouver], 10 Oct. 1902; as quoted in Wylie Thom, "The Fine Arts in Vancouver, 1886-1930, An Historical Survey," M.A. thesis, Univ. of British Columbia, 1969, p. 21.

[142] Arthur Mowbray, "With the B.C. Artists," Daily Province [Vancouver], 27 Sept. 1916, p. 6. The article was a review of an exhibition of the British Columbia Society of Fine Arts.

[143] Christina Johnson-Dean, "B.C. Women Artists, 1885-1920," in British Columbia Women Artists, 1885-1985, exhibition catalogue, text by Nicholas Tuele, Christina Johnson-Dean and Roberta Pazdro (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1985), p. 13.

[144] Ibid.

[145] See Karen Elizabeth Wonders, "Natural History Dioramas: A Popular Art Idiom in the Museum Context," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Victoria, 1985, p. 258.

[146] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, pp. 210-1.

[147] S.A. Curzon, Dominion Illustrated, 4 April 1891, p. 336.

Chapter IV

THE CONTINUING APPEARANCE OF THE VISITING PROFESSIONAL ARTIST

Introduction

Most of the artists discussed in this chapter painted in the Rocky mountains after the turn of the century. They represent several attitudes toward the painting of alpine landscape. Some, like many painters in the previous chapters, were representative of the conventions of the earlier nineteenth-century English landscape art and others were influenced by landscape painting as it evolved in Europe during the second half of the century. The chapter also includes painters of the 'Old West' whose primary objective was the accurate portrayal of the disappearing life of the West. Thus, the painters in this chapter painted in the Rockies for more diverse reasons than those in the last.

Unlike the previous chapter, which was dominated by members of the R.C.A. from central Canada, this chapter includes artists from the West, pointing to the fact that by 1900 professional artists were settling there. By 1900, many of the generation of Canadian painters which succeeded the C.P.R. painters were turning to central and eastern Canada for landscape subjects. When they did come west to paint the mountains they often came only once.

The influence of photography, although less apparent than in Chapter III, is also an aspect to be considered in the work of some painters. Another factor is the participation of the railways, after the heyday of patronage, in assisting artists. Besides the C.P.R., the

Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific railways began to assist artists and to offer commissions.

The Artists

One of the earliest professional artists to visit the Canadian Rockies was Frederic Remington (1861-1909). The landscape in Remington's paintings served as a context for the main subjects of his works: the Indians, cowboys, soldiers and trappers of the frontier. Later in his career, however, he turned increasingly to pure landscape. Remington is known to have visited the Canadian Rockies in 1887 and 1890.

A native of New York state, Remington first visited the American West in 1881. Like Catlin and Kane before him, he vowed to record the fast-disappearing life of the West. "I knew the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever," he wrote, "and the more I considered the subject the bigger the Forever loomed."[1] Remington's brief art training included a period in 1878-9 at the School of Fine Arts at Yale University where he was taught drawing by John Henry Niemyer,[2] and, in 1886, a few months at the Art Students' League in New York where he studied under the American Impressionist, J. Alden Wier.

Remington was primarily an illustrator for much of his career and his works were so widely published that a writer in 1892 could claim that "eastern people have formed their conceptions of what the Far-Western life is like, more from what they have seen in Mr. Remington's pictures than from any other source."[3] By the late 1880s, he strove to be recognized as a professional artist. Peter

Hassrick refers to him as a Romantic Realist although at the end of his career he was employing increasingly an Impressionist vocabulary. In the 1890s he turned to sculpture and produced western images of figures and horses in bronze.

Remington frequently relied on photographs; a recent study asserts that until the late 1890s he was merely "an intermediary between the camera and the printed page."[4] Sketches were made in pencil and watercolour along with colour notations, and "scores of photographs" were taken by the artist. Paintings of the Canadian Rockies by Remington lend support to the case of reliance on photographs.

In May of 1887, Remington was in Calgary and the Calgary Herald reported that he was soon to leave for Banff "to put the scenery around the rising town on canvas."[5] He had been commissioned by Harper's Weekly to produce illustrations of the Canadian West. It is also possible that he was assisted by the C.P.R.[6] Included in his itinerary was time spent on the Blackfoot Reserve south of the Bow River where he took photographs of the Blackfoot tribe members. He also went as far as the Selkirks and An Indian Trapper (Plate 32), in the Amon Carter Museum, is a result of that visit.[7] A pen and ink sketch for this painting, The French Trapper, is in the Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, New York. Remington likely also used photographs for this work. A collection of photographs by such photographers as Boorne and May of Calgary and the Notman Studios was included in his own collection.[8] In the vertically oriented work, the mountain setting, besides creating a context for the main subject, is integrated with the figure and adds to the sense of isolation. The apparent use of photographs of the Rockies did not result in mountains of substance or massiveness; they appear somewhat ethereal compared to the strong colours of the figure. An example of Remington painting pure landscapes of the Rockies is Banff (Plate 33), an oil sketch of 1891, in the Frederic Remington Art Museum. It has been suggested that elements in this work are based on photographs, specifically, the Notman Studio photograph, Cascade Mountain from Upper Hot Springs, Banff.[9] Certainly, the shape and striation of Cascade Mountain in the photograph do appear similar in the painting. Remington has depicted the peak and upper regions of the mountain behind a foreground of delicately painted foliage and middle ground of trees, a familiar composition to some alpine painters who rejected the typical alpine scene.

Another American painter, John Singer Sargent (1856-1925), made one sketching trip to the Canadian Rockies. In 1916 he spent about two months in the mountains, basing himself at Mount Stephen House, Field, in British Columbia. His painting of Lake O'Hara became well-known partly due to the large number of reproductions of it.[10]

Sargent was an expatriate American who grew up in France and Italy and received his training in Paris in the studio of Emile-August Carolus-Duran, an artist referred to by Albert Boime as the "Third Republic juste milieu." Boime is referring to a group of artists whom he describes as "employing both independent and Academic features."[11]

During most of his career as a successful portraitist, Sargent took frequent sketching trips and became a fine painter of plein-air landscapes in both watercolour and oil. He often worked out the oil paintings at the site, and his watercolours were usually completed in one continuous process. Landscapes dominate the work of his later career. A biographer states that he seldom "concerned himself with panorama and distance"[12] and the artist himself is quoted as saying, "I can't paint vedutas. I can paint objects. . . ."[13]

One of the places frequented by Sargent during his summer sketching trips was the Swiss Alps where, unlike many previous painters, he apparently did not seek out picturesque prospects or create sublime renderings of the mountains. Richard Ormond writes that "relatively few of his oils and watercolours are of well-known or consciously picturesque places or scenes, and they make no attempt to exploit emotive associations."[14]

In 1916, Sargent wrote that "he intended to go . . . to the Rockies for mountain air and sketching. . . ."[15] He had been encouraged by a commission from Mrs. Isabella Stewart Gardner for a painting of the Twin Falls for her Boston museum.[16] Sargent established himself and his party, which likely included his valet, at Mount Stephen House. When he eventually camped near the Twin Falls, he discovered that they had been reduced to one due to a landslide above. After completing his painting of the falls,[17] he moved on to Lake O'Hara. A painting and watercolour, both titled Lake O'Hara, and now in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, resulted from that visit. Lake O'Hara (Plate 34), the oil, portrays the lake bathed in brilliant light. Although it is representative of nineteenth-century naturalism, compositionally, it is not a typical alpine view. It is an intimate view from a raised vantage point across the lake which shows no sky above the mountains, illustrating Sargent's lack of interest in panorama or distance. The rock formations in the mountains recall that once a geologist, shown Sargent's alpine sketches, had been able to ascertain "the composition of the rocks and the manner their shapes had been modelled by water and ice and sun and wind."[18]

The year after Sargent's trip to the Rockies another American painter visited the area. Leonard Davis (1864-1938) was in the Rockies in 1917 and is known to have returned on at least two occasions: the summers of 1923 and 1929. Davis was born in Massachussetts and trained in New York at the Art Students' League and in Paris at Académie Julien under Jean-Paul Laurens, Jules Lefebvre and Benjamin Constant. Before 1917 he spent 12 years in Alaska.[19]

Of Davis' three known visits to the Rockies, his 1917 trip is the best documented. The 1923 visit included an exhibition in October at the Palliser Hotel[20] and it is possible that two small sketches and an oil, in the collection of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, were in this exhibition.[21] Also during this visit, Davis apparently spent time sketching at the Prince of Wales's ranch[22] and the following spring, over 27 of the resulting works were exhibited in the C.P.R. section of the 1924 British Empire Exhibition.[23] Davis' connection with the C.P.R. is not documented but he likely received free railway passage to the West in 1923. The 1929 visit saw him exhibiting in the Calgary Stampede paintings of the Rockies as well as such subjects as the Prince of Wales ranch, the Turner Valley oil fields and Vancouver Island.[24]

The Banff arrival of Davis in July, 1917, was noted with enthusiasm by Calgary newspapers, one of which reported that the artist was holding an exhibition at the Banff Springs Hotel.[25] Remembered as "quite a man for publicity,"[26] Davis expressed his intention to obtain sketches for paintings which, when exhibited, would "do for Canada" what his "Alaskan series did for [the United States]."[27] No evidence of such a group of paintings of the Canadian Rockies has so far appeared.

Some of Davis' sketches from the summer were exhibited at the Calgary Public Library in September through the assistance of the Canadian Alpine Club.[28] It is likely that Davis was a member of the American Alpine Club and thus was offered support from its Canadian counterpart. The reviews of the exhibition assert that the artist had captured the mountains' "every mood" from "the fragrance of the wayside flower" to the "wonder of the roaring torrent"[29] and that each of the works expressed "sublime grandeur."[30] The latter evaluation is not borne out by an examination of Davis's known alpine works. A painting in the Glenblow Museum, based on one of the 1917 sketches, is Mountain Landscape, Bow Valley[31] (Plate 35). The moderate size, horizontal format and quality of stillness seem to relate the painting to nineteenth-century American Luminism. Other Luminist characteristics include restricted palette and hazy light. Davis, born in Massachusetts and spending time at the New York Art Students League, would have been aware of the legacy of the Hudson River School and one of its outgrowths, Luminism.[32] The stillness of the scene is enhanced by the artist's selection of softly rounded, rather than jagged, peaks.

Another American artist who visited the Canadian Rockies more than once during the period was Cleveland Rockwell (1837-1907). Sketchbooks in the Oregon Historical Society Collection establish that Rockwell was in the area in 1887, 1888 and 1892. Works dated 1904, one of which ~~is~~ in the Glenbow Museum, suggest that he was also there that year.

Rockwell was born in Ohio and trained in New York at the Troy Academy and at New York University. The instructor in design at the University in 1856, when Rockwell was there, was Thomas Seer Cummings, who also taught James Alden, a topographer mentioned in Chapter II.[33] Similarities in the work of the two topographers may be seen in the attention to landscape detail. Rockwell was employed by the United States Coast Survey from 1856 and during the Civil War was involved in mapping.[34]

Rockwell's biographer states that he painted what he "saw and measured."[35] However, some of his later works in oil and watercolour have a poetic quality of stillness and reveal the hand of a competent amateur painter.

A concern with picturesque conventions, as well as topographical detail, is evident in Rockwell's 1904 watercolour, Banff Springs Hotel (Plate 36), in the Glenbow Museum.[36] This work apparently depicts the Banff Springs Hotel during the construction of towers which were added to each end during this period.[37] The painting includes a winding path leading into the composition and picturesque figure with colourful shawl and walking stick, flanked by trees. The sedate, gentle slope of the mountains in the background is delineated with the care of the topographer and any sense of the overwhelming or stark nature of mountains is absent.

A number of English watercolourists painted the Rockies during the early part of the century. One of these was the Vancouver artist, Thomas W. Fripp (1864-1931). Alpine painting, which included the coastal range as well as the Rockies and Selkirks, became Fripp's most consistent subject matter from approximately 1905 until near the end of his life.

Fripp was trained at St. John's Wood Art School and the Royal Academy Schools, where he was taught by his father, George A. Fripp, a well-known landscape watercolourist.[38] Thomas Fripp was particularly fond of English watercolourists Peter de Wint, David Cox and John Sell Cotman.[39] In 1893, he emigrated to Canada[40] and, when he moved to Vancouver shortly after 1900, became one of the earliest professional artists to settle there. Fripp worked first in a photographic studio and his sketching trips usually included taking photographs. Nicholas Tuele asserts that he did not rely on photographs in his work.[41]

Besides teaching art in the city, Fripp was a member of most of the art associations which formed in Vancouver after 1900 and was the first president of the British Columbia Society of Fine Arts (B.C.S.F.A.), founded in 1909. By that time, according to W.P. Weston, who came to the city in 1909, he and Fripp were the only artists in the area who made a living from their art.[42] Later in his career, Fripp was to fight for more exposure in central Canada for western artists.[43] Fripp's position as a painter in British Columbia in 1918 is suggested by a writer for The Studio (London) who referred to his "paintings of the Canadian Rockies as probably as good as anything that

Canada has produced in water-colour."[44] However, it is not clear whether the writer was aware of the work of Charles John Collings.

Fripp painted primarily watercolour landscapes. Most of his watercolours of the Rockies and Selkirks depict areas through which the Canadian Pacific Railway line passes. It is not known if he received support from the company. An emphasis on atmospheric effects was prevalent in Fripp's alpine works. Such titles as Passing Clouds or Cloudy Day or Snow Flurry, Mt. Aberdeen are conspicuous in exhibition catalogues of the B.C.S.F.A. His technique remained one of adherence to his early training. Writing at the time of Fripp's death, Walter Phillips described him as "living within himself, and his artistic ideals were those that thrived in St. John's Wood in his youth."[45] A 1905 watercolour of the Rockies is Emerald Lake (Plate 37), in the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria. The scene, a lake with backdrop of mountains, is a standard format for such a view. However, the work reveals careful modelling and skilled application of colour washes. The effect of light on the mountains on a dull day recalls Phillips' comments about such effects in Fripp's work: "I delight chiefly in his grey effects--opalescent, delicate harmonies, envisaging the glory of gray."[46]

Another painter of the Rockies who came from the British tradition of watercolour landscape painting was Charles John Collings (1848-1931). However, he had developed a particularly individual style by the time he came to Canada. He first painted the Rockies in 1910 or 1911 after he moved from England to Shuswap Lake in British Columbia.

Born in Devon, Collings spent many years copying documents in a solicitor's office before moving to London in 1895. For a short period, he studied with Nathaniel Baird (1854-1936), an artist known for his paintings of animals.[47] It is likely that he was also assisted by Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956), who had a studio in the same Kensington building.[48] Collings' work at the time had similarities to that of many other British watercolourists including the choice of picturesque or quaint subject matter.[49] However, around 1903 his style began to change.[50] During this period he worked in London but lived in villages outside the city. Avoiding the cities, with their industrialization and despoliation of the landscape, was a common practice among British landscape painters since at least the 1880s.[51] Collings' move to a remote spot in British Columbia can also be seen in this context.

Two years after settling in British Columbia, Collings held a successful London exhibition which featured the Rocky Mountains and areas around Shuswap Lake. This London exhibition was to become the pattern of his career; his sales connections were largely in England. Occasional exhibitions were held in Seymour Arm, where he lived, but Collings was not well known in Canada.[52] An illustration in The Studio which accompanied a review of the exhibition reveals that his fluid style was well developed by this time.[53] Loose washes, fine colouring and a sense of pictorial space which seems related to Oriental painting are elements of his work. Collings worked from summary drawings done on the spot, and painted his watercolours in the studio. A recent study points out that these preliminary pencil drawings "were fundamental to his total work."[54] His procedure was described by Phillips who pointed out that he "achieved all his middle and higher tones by lifting the pigment which was floated all over the paper. . . . There is practically no evidence of dry painting in any of his work. . . ."[55]

That Collings' preferred subjects were the British Columbia and Alberta mountains, particularly in winter, is illustrated by the titles of his exhibitions in London between 1912 and 1924: "The Canadian Rockies," "Interpreting the Canadian Rockies" and "British Columbia under Snow."[56] The success of the 1912 exhibition seems to be related to the subject matter--the romantic Rocky Mountains--and the evocative and moody quality of their depiction as well as to the importance of pattern in the works. It is interesting to note that The Studio critic (writing the year of the second exhibition of Post-Impressionist art in London), stressed that Collings' work was "new." Moreover, it was suggested that the method "[lent] itself to the rendering of the crystalline air, the unsmirched snows, the pure light and colour of these mountain solitudes."[57] By this, he appears to mean that Collings' use of pure pigments mixed right on the damp paper suited the rugged and untamed (non-European) landscape he was painting. To a viewer of today, however, Collings' watercolours appear to be of their period. Writing in 1978, a Calgary critic who lived within sight of the Rocky Mountains felt that, "Collings' complicated watercolour technique . . . glosses over the raw power of the Canadian Rockies. . . ."[58]

An example of Collings' alpine work is a 1918 watercolour, Nearing the Glacier (Plate 38), in the Maltwood Memorial Museum of

Historic Art, University of Victoria.[59] The work is small, like many of Collings' paintings, and reveals the technique already described. Vaporous effects of cloud and mist take up much of the composition and mountain peaks above the cloud are lightly touched with yellow giving the effect of light falling on them. The mountains appear as unsubstantial as the clouds which surround them, all of which creates an intricate pattern of blues and whites, greys and ochres.

Emily (E.M.B.) Warren (1869-1956) was another painter who, although she sometimes worked in oil, came from the English tradition of watercolour painting. She first visited the Rockies, it appears, in 1920 and, according to her biographer, painted the mountains for the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National railways up until the 1950s.[60] As a painter of the Rockies during the period, she is unique in that she was a protégé and devoted follower of Ruskin and closely adhered to his complicated beliefs as to the symbolic significance of mountains.

Warren lived in London from the age of ten. Ruskin was the dominant influence of her painting ever since, as a teenaged girl, she wrote to the aging critic asking for advice. She considered herself to be Ruskin's last student and, through his letters, which her biographer claims numbered over 50, he "guided [her] education in art."[61] In a biography of Ruskin, she is mentioned briefly as "another young artist that he had befriended."[62] An 1885 letter from Ruskin to Warren reveals that he told the young artist that she had "one of the most perfect and pure gifts of colour [that he] ever knew."[63] Warren's biographer recalls that she could "spit off pages of Ruskin" at any time.[64]

Warren attended the South Kensington Art School from which she graduated in 1887 or 1888, having concentrated on architectural drawing and painting.[65] Her attachment to Ruskin was maintained after his illness and death.[66]

About 1900, Warren began to give travel lectures using lantern slides of her own paintings which were produced by having light positive transparencies made and then hand-painting them herself. In 1919, she came to Ottawa to sell to the federal government two large paintings, each over 11 feet in height, titled Canada's Tribute. They depicted 77 commanding officers of Canada's Expeditionary Force in the act of placing the regimental colours on General Wolfe's Tomb in Westminster Abbey. Although she had been assured of future purchase, both the Canadian government and the National Gallery refused to acquire the paintings. They were finally bought by the government in 1947.

Regardless of this difficulty, Warren decided to settle in Canada for part of each year and began to include Canada and the United States in her lecture tours. According to her biographer, she received free passes on Canadian railways, until at least 1952.[67] A copy of the text of one of Warren's lectures on the Rockies, along with a large collection of her slides, is in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. The text includes typically nineteenth-century descriptions of the beauty and sublimity of the mountains, and reveals traces of the descriptive gifts (including paragraph-length sentences) of Ruskin, as well as detailed information of tourist activities and accommodation.

The inclusion of this latter information suggests that she was expected not only to paint for her railway passes but also to promote tourism in the area. "Imagine if you can," one of the lectures enthuses,

> a region where the sublimity of the scenery is matched by the beauty, where tremendous peaks lift their foreheads beyond the clouds and black canyons hide their feet in unimaginable depths, where those great leviathans, the glaciers, creep down from the frozen desolation of alpine heights and the black walls of precipices rise up so as to shut out the very light of day, but imagine these softened and balanced by luxuriant pine forests, by smiling green valleys 'murmurous with streams', by the airy veils of silvery waterfalls. . . .

This long passage ends with the sentence, "Add to all the above, the gloriously life-giving mountain air, warm sunny summer days and pleasantly cool nights and you have all the raw material for the perfect holiday land."[68]

Warren's favourite subjects, her biographer relates, were cathedrals and mountains. Her "lifelong ambition" was to have an exhibition which would be titled "Cathedrals of Man and Nature,"[69] reminiscent of Ruskin's attitude towards mountains. She spoke of wanting to paint the Rockies,

> 'after Ruskin', as it were; to follow, in ever so humble a way his ideas of achieving light effects upon the mountains, whose crests in sunshine, in storm, in darkness, declare the wonder and glory of God.[70]

One of Warren's oil on canvas works, of c.1920, is The Bow River in Moonlight (Plate 39), in a private collection.[71] The artist held an exhibition of her work which included Rocky mountain subjects, in November, 1920, in the Ottawa Ladies College[72] where this work was likely shown. It suggests Ruskin's premise that "the representation of facts [is] the first end" in art because it is necessary to reach the second, and most important, "the representation of thoughts."[73] In the painting, which depicts a river with mountains in the background, the central mountain peak is illuminated from behind by a cloud-covered moon. The effect of the golden light on the mountain and river gives the work an air of mystery. The other elements in the work, treated for the most part in a generalized manner, seem merely an introduction to the real subject, the Rocky Mountains as supreme example of God's works on earth.

Another English watercolourist to paint the Rockies was Thomas H. Wilkinson (1847-1929), who came to Ontario from England about 1863.[74] A landscape painter primarily, he occasionally exhibited in the O.S.A. and R.C.A. exhibitions. When a sale of his work was held in 1931, the subjects included "scenes in British Columbia and the Canadian West."[75] Pringle suggests that his Rocky Mountain paintings were executed from photographs and implies that he never visited the Rockies.[76] An undated watercolour, Lake Louise, is in the Glenbow Museum. A painting with similarities to Fripp's watercolour style, it exemplifies the scene of a familiar spot in the Rockies painted in an English watercolour style for buyers in the east with a taste for the picturesque.

Other English watercolour painters who produced scenes of the Rockies during the period included Edward J. Hutchins (c.1867-?) and John Pedder (1850-1929). Hutchins was active in Winnipeg between 1908 and 1914.[77] He is known to have used photographs or sketches of other artists to produce some of his watercolour scenes. Pedder is notable for a c.1887 wash, pen and ink work in the Public Archives of Canada, Forest Fire in the Rocky Mountains, Canada (Plate 40).[78] Although forest fires in the Rockies are frequently described in written accounts by artists throughout the period under study, this is one of the few times the subject has been depicted. Regardless of the subject matter, it includes somewhat staged lighting and picturesque conventions such as foreground arrangement of rocks.

The primary objective of some artists who painted the Rockies was to record the Canadian West. Paul Kane was the earliest and after him came Frederick Verner (1836-1928). Ironically, although Verner is referred to as "the painter of the Canadian West"[79] no evidence has been found to suggest that he came West more than twice. The first time, in 1873, he likely did not go as far as the Rockies and the second, he seems to have merely passed through.

Born in Ontario, Verner became well known during his 60 year career. In 1943, William Colgate, wrote that "rare is the picture gallery or antique shop that cannot show one or more examples of his work."[80] Joan Murray points out that "even during the 1920s, when the Group of Seven dominated Canadian art, Verner's work continued to be recognized as a significant contribution to the birth of a national art."[81] His training took place in England at Leigh's School (later Heatherley's) in South Kensington. In 1862, he returned to Canada where, influenced by Kane, he began to paint Indian portraits.[82]

Like a significant number of painters in this study, Verner worked as a photographer. In 1871 he was working for Notman and Fraser in Toronto. He also used photography in his painting; Murray suggests that he may even have used the canvas as "his emulsion sheet, developing the photo onto the canvas."[83] In the 1860s he produced many 'photograph portraits' (photographs that had been extensively painted over). Once again, the nineteenth-century demand for verisimiltitude influenced a painter's development.

Verner's landscapes frequently included picturesque conventions such as side screens and foreground arrangements like fallen tree trunks which, Murray states, remained a motif in his work throughout his career. His skill with watercolour is revealed by the late 1870s, by which time, Reid suggests, he had been influenced by O'Brien's watercolour technique.[84] Verner used sketches from 1873, the year of his first recorded trip to the West, for many years afterwards, a practice reminiscent of Paul Kane's years of production based on his sketches from the 1846-48 expedition across Canada. When he began painting buffalo subjects about 1865 he had never seen one and Murray suggests that he never did see one outside captivity.[85] In 1880 Verner moved to England and began to successfully exhibit buffalo and Indian subjects in both England and the United States.[86] That his work continued to symbolize the disappearing West to Canadians is suggested by an article of 1888 which announced the "rare chance . . . to secure some good pictures of Indian life, prairie scenes and Canadian landscape. . . . His pictures are reliable."[87]

In 1873, Verner travelled to the West as far as present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan,[88] and in 1889 he apparently sketched in the Selkirk mountains during a trip to the coast.[89] No paintings are known from this period in the Selkirks. According to Murray, the few watercolours of western mountain scenery which do exist from approximately 1884 were to be used as backgrounds for future paintings. They may have been painted from previous sketches or photographs or even other artists' work.[90] One of them, Canadian River Landscape, is in the Pagurian Collection, Toronto. More typical of Verner's exhibited work is another painting in the Pagurian Collection, Buffalo Foraging in a Blizzard (Plate 41), of 1909. Here, as suggested from previous examples, the mountains have been taken from an earlier sketch or other source. Like Remington's mountains, their main purpose is symbolic. They were to represent the rugged and dangerous West as a setting for his frequently depicted theme, the disappearing buffalo.

Another artist who illustrated the disappearing Canadian frontier was John Innes (1863-1941). The first suggestion of his painting in the Rockies appears in 1885 when it was reported that he painted "a couple of views of mountain scenery" for a bar in Calgary.[91] Like Verner, Innes was more concerned with painting romantic depictions of frontier life than with interpreting the landscape.

Innes was born in London, Ontario and, according to his biographer, he was taught topographical drawing at a Canadian military academy.[92] He apparently undertook unspecified art study in England and about 1895 in Toronto he studied with William Cruikshank,[93] who taught drawing at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design.

In 1883, Innes was sent west as a surveyor[94] and apparently settled near Calgary soon after. Besides painting the wall of the

Calgary bar, he worked as a cartoonist for the Calgary Herald and the Prairie Illustrated News.[95] He also operated the town's first telephone exchange[96] and was involved in the short lived publication, The Mountain Echo in Banff.[97]

Documentation of this period in the West, which lasted until about 1895, reveals little of Innes the painter although between 1899 and 1904 he exhibited in the R.C.A. works with titles like The Outlaw and A Canadian Cattle Ranch. Besides his western newspaper experience, he worked as illustrator and cartoonist for several newspapers and magazines in central Canada and New York, where he lived from about 1906.[98] He returned to Canada in 1913[99] and moved to Vancouver. Perhaps influenced by Frederic Remington's work, which he would have seen in New York, he decided to produce a series of paintings depicting the disappearing Canadian West. Innes was occasionally referred to as the "Canadian Remington" in the press and the artist apparently saw himself in this role.[100] Technically, as Colgate points out, "he lacked [Remington's] disciplined hand, his patience, his technical skill and resource. . . ."[101] It is not documented whether he employed photography as extensively as Remington, but many of his works--compositionally and through evenness of tone--suggest the presence of photography.

In 1915 Innes held a one man show at the Vancouver Hotel titled "Chunks of the Western Epic" consisting of prairie, mountain and coastal scenes.[102] For a short time, he was part of the group of founders of the British Columbia Art League, which was devoted to exploring new forms in art. The League's activities led to J.W.G.

Macdonald and Frederick Varley coming to teach in Vancouver in 1926 and Innes' low opinion of the Group of Seven[103] soon put him at odds with the prevailing philosophy. As an historical painter with an emphasis on the recording of fact, he was in an isolated position in Vancouver. In 1929 he was quoted as saying that when faced with a choice between rules of composition and colour and historical accuracy, he chose the latter.[104]

As an historical painter, Innes obtained several commissions in the 1920s.[105] He also received help from a patron, Arthur P. Denby, in mounting another "Epic" exhibition in 1929, "The Epic of Western Canada."[106] The exhibition was sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company which purchased all 30 works in the exhibition. Corporate support on such as scale is reminiscent of the heyday of C.P.R. patronage in the 1880s. Patronage of artists was not new to the Hudson's Bay Company; its support of Paul Kane has already been mentioned.

A painting from that exhibition (which was painted some years earlier) with a western alpine setting is Scarlet and Gold (Plate 42). Two police officers are seen patrolling a mountain path. The work is from 1920 or earlier for it appears to be the same as the cover illustration for a 1920 magazine of the same name.[107] It was likely commissioned by the Royal North West Mounted Police (R.N.W.M.P.) Veterans Association which produced the magazine. The R.N.W.M.P. may be seen as another aspect of the disappearing Canadian West which Innes was committed to recording. Accompanying the title in the catalogue is a passage from a poem by Robert Service which presents the Mounties as Canadian heroes.[108]

The work is reminiscent of Remington in its romantic depiction of a mounted figure situated in a western landscape painting. In 1909, Innes could have seen at Knoedler's galleries in New York a painting by Remington similar in composition to Scarlet and Gold. It is titled The Unknown Explorers (Sid. W. Richardson Foundation Collection), and depicts two figures on horseback on a narrow mountain path with mountains in the background arranged similarly to the Innes work. An earlier version of this work was published (detail only) on the cover of Collier's August 11, 1906 issue and the complete work as a cover label for a portfolio, Four Masterpieces in Color.[109] Innes' lack of "technical skill and resource," when compared to Remington, is apparent here. Whereas Remington's work treats both landscape and figures in a broadly brushed manner, Innes' somewhat stereotyped figures are specifically painted and seem like illustrations to a text. They contrast too sharply with the loose brush work of foreground elements. Notwithstanding the poor condition of the painting, the snow-covered mountain peak seems detached from the scene. The purpose of including mountains in the work is, as it was for Verner's paintings, to provide an imposing western setting in which to situate the figures.

Charles W. Simpson (1878-1942) was a Montreal artist who produced illustrations of the West for the C.P.R. In a large exhibition in Montreal in the fall of 1916, a year he was known to have been in the Rockies, Simpson included Rocky Mountain sketches. None of these have been located. Although he was both an illustrator and a painter with a substantial reputation in Montreal, he was employed mainly as an illustrator by the C.P.R.

Simpson studied under William Brymner, Edmund Dyonnet and Maurice Cullen at the Art Association of Montreal and later at the Art Students' League, New York under G.B. Bridgman and Walter A. Clark. He worked as an illustrator throughout his life.[110] His illustrations appeared in several publications which included scenes in the Rocky Mountains.[111] Besides work for the C.P.R., Simpson illustrated books and pamphlets for the Canadian National Railway in the 1920s and 1930s.[112] He was also a printmaker and some of his etchings were of Rocky Mountain subjects. In the 1920s, like John Innes, Simpson produced a number of history paintings.[113]

Simpson was described by John Murray Gibbon, publicity agent for the C.P.R., as one of the artists "who made posters and other commercial designs."[114] As mentioned, in the fall of 1916 Simpson exhibited about 30 sketches (apparently oil) of the Rockies. At least six were of Lake O'Hara.[115]

As no original Rocky Mountain works by Simpson have been located, one must rely on colour illustrations to describe his work. An illustration in *Canadian Pacific Rockies*, *Lake O'Hara* (Plate 43), may have been a result of sketches done in 1916. Simpson seems to have used the same sketches for illustrations over a number of years.[116] The composition ~~is~~ unlike the intimate depictions of Lake O'Hara by Sargent that year. The work introduces an element of design which, before A.Y. Jackson's 1914 visit to the mountains, is seldom seen in paintings of the Rockies. However, it seems to be conceptually a familiar mountain scene with foreground details, body of water and mountains and sky in the background. The fact that this kind of colour illustration of the Rockies, also seen in posters by such artists as A.C. Leighton and in other types of illustrative material of the C.P.R., became so numerous as to become a cliché, likely contributed to the waning appeal of the Rockies to landscape artists by the 1930s.

Like their eastern counterparts, some of the artists who lived in the West after 1900 produced paintings of the Rockies which suggest an awareness of trends in Europe such as less concern with representation and traditional perspective and the use of loose brush strokes. Also, like their eastern counterparts, some were assisted by the railways. An artist who settled on the prairies for a period and is known to have sketched in the mountains at least once was Inglis Sheldon-Williams (1870-1940).

Sheldon-Williams first came to Saskatchewan from England as a youth. Before he left England he studied in Ghent, Belgium with Théophile Lybaert, a history and genre painter. In 1887, his family acquired a section of land near Cannington Manor, a settlement of middle-class English immigrants. Returning to England in 1891, Sheldon-Williams worked under the sculptor, Sir Thomas Brock and in Paris he spent time at the Colarossi Studio.[117] More significant seems to be the two years spent at the Slade School in London where he likely learned strong draughtsmanship. The attitude of the school at the time was that there should be "no accommodation with a modern foreign [French] art. . . .[118] After working as portraitist, illustrator and teacher of animal painting in London, Sheldon-Williams returned to Canada in 1913. As a landscape painter by this time, Patricia Ainslie states, he had gradually aligned himself "with the

English Romantic tradition . . . but more specifically with the Barbizon School of the mid-nineteenth century."[119]

Correspondence reveals that, while in Montreal, Sheldon-Williams obtained assistance from the C.P.R. apparently for the 1913 trip and subsequent trips across Canada.[120] He spent three years in Regina, during which he painted portraits and works of typically Barbizon subject matter, of men and farm animals in farm settings. Before his final departure from Canada in 1917, he founded the School of Art at Regina College.[121]

Sheldon-Williams apparently was in the Rockies in 1914. The date is suggested by pencil sketches of the Rockies which are dated 1914 in a notebook in the Glenbow Archives.[122] An oil sketch, an untypical pure landscape subject, is In the Rocky Mountains (Plate 44), c.1914, in the Glenbow Museum. The sketch seeks to portray a general impression of the mountain landscape. In its free brushwork, the work seems to be connected to a canvas of that year, After the Storm, in the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, Regina which is cited by Ainslie as the "most impressionistic" of the artist's work. The composition of the small sketch, a fast-moving mountain stream in the foreground, mountains in the background brought forward by colour and flattened sky, is reminiscent of compositions of Frederic Bell-Smith.[123]

Unlike Sheldon-Williams, Augustus Kenderdine (1870-1947), lived in Saskatchewan for much of his life. He painted in the Rockies during the 1920s, when he was commissioned by the Canadian National Railway.

Kenderdine was born in England and, after studying art with professional landscape painters in his native Blackpool, he attended the Académie Julian in Paris in 1890. In a recent study on Kenderdine, Maeve Spain writes that his Paris training resulted in an abandonment of traditional grey underpainting for a direct application and freer handling of paint and more technical control.[124] From the beginning of his career, Kenderdine was most interested in landscape painting. Spain asserts that his strongest influences were Constable and the Barbizon School. His excessive use of heavy impasto sometimes interferred with the quality of his work. Some of Kenderdine's painting includes trees which have the feathery, 'soft-focus' appearance of trees by Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot. This effect has been shown to relate to photography.[125] By 1901, Kenderdine had exhibited paintings in the Royal Academy exhibition.[126] A local critic noted that he effectively portrayed the effects of wind on foliage,[127] a frequent element in his future work in Canada.

In 1908, Kenderdine and his family emigrated to Lloydminster, Saskatchewan to join the ill-fated Barr colonists who had arrived five years earlier. He established a homestead near Lashburn and it was not until about 1918 that he was able to resume painting on any significant scale. In 1921, he moved to Saskatoon to take advantage of the offer by the President, Walter Murray, of a studio at the University of Saskatchewan. Kenderdine began to work full-time as a painter--teaching, painting portraits, as well as romantic landscapes of Saskatchewan which were "reminiscent of scenes he favoured in England" and which avoided the overwhelming space of the prairie.[128] In this avoidance of prairie space, he can be compared to Sheldon-Williams. Later, in 1936, he took up the position of Director of the School of Fine Art at Regina College and was instrumental in the establishment of the summer art school at Emma Lake.

Kenderdine's known visits to the Rockies during the 1920s were in 1923 and 1924.[129] It is likely that he had been commissioned by the Canadian National Railway.[130] Three paintings he executed for the company are still in its possession, although no records have been located.[131] One of the paintings depicts Mount Robson. At least two sketches, dated 1924, of this mountain are known. One of them is Mount Robson (Plate 45), in a private collection. Although Kenderdine was in the area of Mount Robson in 1923, sketches of the mountains from that year have not been located. In Mount Robson (darkened by years of hanging in a smoky atmosphere) hints of the influence of photography are apparent in its uniformity of surface, and seemingly accurate portrayal of Mount Robson, compared with his other works of the period which employ heavy impasto and dramatic effects. This lack of spontaneity and attention to accurate detail, which are also seen in another 1924 sketch of Mount Robson, in the Glenbow Museum,[132] further suggests that it was intended for the railway. In fact, the composition is similar to many C.P.R. paintings seen in Chapter III.

An artist who was to play an important role in Alberta during the late 1920s, Lars Haukaness (1862-1929), painted in the Rockies by 1921 or 1922. Exhibition records reveal that he first showed Rocky Mountain paintings in 1922.[133]

Haukaness grew up in Norway and studied in Oslo between 1882 and 1886. The last year of his sojourn there he studied at the Royal Academy School. His teachers included Christian Krogh, Fritz Thaulow and Eric Werenskjold.[134] Krogh had studied in Paris and, like the other two, was a strong presence in the stimulating artistic climate of Oslo at that time. In 1888, Haukaness and his family emigrated to the United States. His painting at that time was naturalistic with obvious influences of Impressionism.[135] Haukaness first lived in Chicago, where he worked as a designer and painter for the World Exposition in 1893.[136] He remained there, supporting himself by portrait and theatrical painting until about 1902, when he moved to Madison, Wisconsin, another city in which a significant number of Norwegians had settled. There, he set up a studio as a portrait and landscape painter. After a visit to Norway between 1909 and 1913, he returned to the United States, and lived in Chicago until 1919 when he moved to Winnipeg.

Haukaness, who taught at the Winnipeg Gallery and School of Art, was one of the early art teachers in Winnipeg. In 1926, he left the city and moved to Calgary where he joined the staff of the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art as art instructor. His appointment marked the beginning of a professional approach to the teaching of art in the province.

As mentioned, Haukaness had painted in the Rockies by 1922, four years before he settled in Alberta. He had a strong affection for the mountains and often said that his "heart was in the Canadian Rockies."[137] An undated sketch, Mount Temple (Plate 46), is in the collection of the University of Alberta. Haukaness has chosen a specific mountain and rendered it accurately. In the middle distance forms are simplified or suggested by sweeping brush strokes. Like most paintings in the study, the work does not contain exaggerated colour. As noted, the sketch may have been executed after Haukaness settled in Calgary. It suggests a sympathy towards the Rocky Mountain landscape which is often not apparent in paintings by visiting artists.

Two artists, besides T.W. Fripp, who lived in Vancouver just after the turn of the century and painted in the Rockies were Henry J. de Forest and Alice Blair Thomas. Although Thomas' background is obscure, her painting suggests European training and it is known that de Forest spent time at the Académie Julian.

Henry J. de Forest (1855-1924) seems to have first painted near the Selkirk Mountains in 1899, the year after he settled in Vancouver.[138] He exhibited his work frequently in Vancouver after that date but as newspaper accounts are the main source of documentation, few titles are available until 1909. Extant catalogues of the B.S.C.F.A. reveal that he exhibited paintings of the Rockies in 1909, 1910, 1917 and 1921.

De Forest was born in Rothesay, New Brunswick, and trained at the South Kensington School, the Académie Julian in Paris and in Edinburgh.[139] In 1880 he apparently embarked on a sketching trip through Europe and Palestine.[140] Wylie Thom states that de Forest first visited Vancouver in 1891, presumably on his way back to New Brunswick from a sketching trip to Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii.[141] He lived in Vancouver between 1893 and 1894 when he left for England and Europe.[142] Works available reveal a more accomplished, freer and expressive handling of paint on his return in 1898, compared with those of the early 1890s, although he does not seem to have developed this style.[143]

On his return to Vancouver, de Forest resumed his activities in the artistic community, becoming a member of the newly-formed Vancouver Arts and Crafts Association in 1900,[144] the first curator of Vancouver Museum in 1905,[145] and founding member of the B.C.S.F.A. in 1909.[146]

In 1900 de Forest exhibited works in Vancouver done around Upper Arrow Lake, west of the Selkirk Mountains. One of them depicted the "purple greys of British Columbia mountains as seen by morning or evening light."[147] Landscapes of the country around Vancouver were prevalent in his work. He does not seem to have developed as a painter, a situation partly due to the lack of artistic climate in Vancouver prior to the 1920s. In 1916, his work was referred to as "too precise" and as having an illustrative quality.[148]

In 1919, de Forest exhibited in the New Westminster Exhibition in which works by J.W. Beatty, Arthur Lismer and William Brymner were included.[149] In a review, he was described as "representative of the older school of painting."[150] As mentioned, the following year the British Columbia Art League was formed and soon set up an art gallery which exhibited work sent by Eric Brown from the National Gallery.[151] The fact that artists such as de Forest began to be left behind may explain his departure for Calgary in 1921.[152] That year he was holding art classes in the city and sharing his studio with members of the newly-formed Calgary Art Club.[153] He died three years later in Calgary.[154]

A painting in the Public Archives of British Columbia, Lake

Louise (Plate 47), dated 1908, may be the same as Mountains that like Giants Stand (Lake Louise), the work exhibited in the first annual exhibition of the B.C.S.F.A. in April, 1909. It does not reveal the expressive brush strokes seen in paintings of the late 1890s but rather is a relatively large, horizontal, somewhat flat composition with limited range of blue and mauve tones. A serenity of mood reduces any overwhelming effect of mountains. The possible title, Mountains that like Giants Stand, and the stillness and almost brooding aspect of the mountains and simplification of the forms, suggests that de Forest was possibly influenced by European Symbolist landscape paintings of the 1890s and early 1900s which he might have seen illustrated in art magazines such as The Studio.

Alice Blair Thomas (active 1897-1916, died c.1945) lived in the city for about 12 years of her professional life. Although she is known to have exhibited paintings of the Rockies in 1909 and 1914, and probably more often, almost none have been recovered.[155]

Little information is available about the artist. Presumably from Toronto, she appears as an exhibitor in the Toronto Industrial Exhibition in 1897[156] and in the O.S.A. and R.C.A. exhibitions of 1901.[157] The titles of the works, Twilight Hour, Marine and Passing Shower suggest genre or landscape subjects.

By 1904, Thomas had opened a studio in Vancouver. She lived in the city, it appears, until 1916 or later.[158] Wylie Thom described her paintings as receiving "more favourable comments from the local press in the period 1904-1912 than did those of any other Vancouver artists."[159] In 1904 she held a large exhibition of watercolours and oil paintings, along with works by Marmaduke Matthews and T. Mower Martin,[160] both of whom she may have known in Toronto. T. Mower Martin, like F.M. Bell-Smith, was a frequent visitor to the Rocky Mountains. Both were known in Vancouver where they sometimes exhibited paintings in the Studio Club and the B.C.S.F.A. exhibitions; by 1908, paintings by Bell-Smith were included in the Vancouver Museum collection.[161] Martin's exhibition in Vancouver the year before had been referred to in a local newspaper as his "annual exhibition."[162] The review of Thomas' work suggests a broad handling of paint. She was referred to as "an accomplished landscapist . . . [who] had discovered that the work of the landscape painter is not to give us a mere copy of nature . . . and it is evident that she has been a close observer of the methods of some of the best modern artists. . . ."[163] The year after opening her studio Thomas was apparently forced to close it and sell most of her paintings.[164]

Like artists such as Fripp and de Forest, Thomas exhibited with the Studio Club[165] and in 1909 was one of the founding members of the B.C.S.F.A.[166] Also in 1909, she held a one-woman show in which, according to newspaper reports, she exhibited 90 works. The review referred to the paintings as 'Impressionist' and as revealing the use of palette knife.[167]

Thomas seems to have played less of a part in the Vancouver artistic community after 1909. In May, 1914, her exhibition of 48 paintings and watercolours at the Empress Hotel in Victoria revealed a sketching trip to Banff, Yoho and Glacier national parks.[168] Soon after this, she drops from sight, moving to California at some time after 1916.[169] Two small oil sketches in the Rockies are in the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria. One of them, Mt. Sir Donald (Plate 48), 1908, may be the work of the same title which was exhibited in the 1914 Empress Hotel exhibition. It bears some resemblance to works by Bell-Smith about this time, with its broadly handled trees at the picture surface and mists in the middle distance. Mountain forms, partly obscured by mists which provide depth, are firmly modelled with skillfully handled tones.

Mary Riter Hamilton (1873-1954) was living in the West by 1912, the year of her only known sketching trip to the Rockies. Only one painting by her of a Rocky Mountain subject has been located. Hamilton was born in Ontario and, after briefly working with George Reid (1860-1947) and Wylie Grier (1862-1957) in Toronto, she went to Europe. In Berlin she studied with Franz Skarbina under whom Lawren Harris would also train for a short period. In Paris, according to an article of 1912, she "joined the portrait class of [Jacques-Emile] Blanche in the Vittie Academy." A recent catalogue refers to another teacher, Castaluchi, as being influential.[170]

In 1911, Hamilton returned to Canada, and by late 1913 she had moved to Victoria[171] where she undertook portrait commissions and taught. Her painting subjects seem to have focussed on genre scenes. A sketching trip to the Rockies took place in 1912. Many of the resulting works were exhibited in Calgary in December, 1912.[172] In 1919, eager to contribute something to the Canadians who died in World War I, Hamilton went to France and Belgium to sketch the battlefields devastated by war.[173] After the years of working at the war sketches and a period in which she produced painted textiles, she returned to Canada in 1927. Hamilton almost never painted again but taught art in Vancouver for many years.[174] A small exhibition of her work, arranged by Lawren Harris, was shown at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1949.

A small sketch done in the Rocky Mountains by Hamilton is Mount Rundle, Banff (Plate 49), in the Glenbow Museum. Presumably from 1912, when she spent July and August in the Banff area, it is executed in loose brush strokes and employs effective use of colour and luminosity. Such a work is typical of Hamilton's output; Robert Amos states that she seldom worked up her sketches which are often effective in their loose, spontaneous brush strokes. Like many of Hamilton's works, the genre aspect is significant; the tents and figures below a somewhat flattened mountain form, appear as important as the landscape setting.

During the immediate pre-war period, a sense of nationalism and an optimistic desire to paint the Canadian landscape in a mode particular to the country became apparent among landscape painters in central Canada. This attitude continued after the war and its culmination is considered to be the 1920 formation of the Group of Seven. A similar attitude has been observed among the earlier generation of painters who came west to paint the Rockies for the C.P.R. However, painters like Lucius O'Brien, the most prominent of these artists, were less anxious to break new ground in painting the Canadian landscape, than to bring images of the Rockies and the West back to viewers as evidence of the extraordinary landscape of their country. The basic difference between paintings of these two groups may be seen in the move away from the concern for verisimilitude towards a more subjective approach, facilitated by new techniques learned in Europe. Thus, the new generation had an interest in painting the mountains in a more expressive manner with a concern for design, rather than from a predetermined conception of what a mountain scene should entail. This group of central Canadian painters who immediately preceded the Group of Seven's Rocky Mountain excursions, included Florence Carlyle (paintings of the Rockies presently unavailable), J.W. Beatty and A.Y. Jackson, before he became a member of the Group. Homer Watson, although he did not arrive until the 1920s, may also be placed within this group.

It seems appropriate to discuss Homer Watson (1855-1936) before J.W. Beatty and A.Y. Jackson due to the future importance of Jackson's more advanced style in the development of Canadian landscape painting. Watson was well known for his pastoral landscapes of the Ontario countryside when he first visited the West, apparently in 1921.[175] Although J. Russell Harper suggests that he did not visit the Rockies until 1929, a painting shown by Watson in the 1923 R.C.A. exhibition, _A Glacial Stream_ (location unknown), reinforces the suggestion that he was there earlier.

Although in the 1870s he was assisted in Toronto by painters such as Henry Sandham (1842-1910) and Lucius O'Brien, Watson was largely self-taught. In 1876, he went to New York, where he was influenced by George Inness, an American painter whose style has been referred to as Barbizon-Impressionist. Purchase of his work by the Governor-General of Canada and praise from Oscar Wilde during a visit to Toronto brought Watson early regional success. He was a founding member of the R.C.A. and president between 1918 and 1921.

Watson spent periods in England and, through his contact with Wilde in the late 1880s, met Whistler who apparently instructed him in etching techniques. In Scotland, he sketched with James Kerr-Lawson, an expatriate Canadian painter who in the 1890s was associated with the Glasgow School, a group of British plein-air painters with strong sympathies for Barbizon, the Hague School, and Impressionist styles.[176] Paintings by Watson are, most typically, pastoral, heavily treed landscapes which reveal the use of a fairly dark palette and thick layers of paint. It is not surprising that several of his Montreal patrons were known for their preference for Dutch painting. However, he is described by Harper as one of the early artists to see "Canada as Canada and in that sense was a forerunner of the Group of Seven. . . ."[177]

As suggested, Watson apparently visited the Rockies in 1921. It is likely that he received free passage on the C.P.R.[178] An undated painting in a Calgary private collection, Canadian Rockies (Plate 50), may be from that visit. In the work the mountains and foreground area are depicted with a generalized, thick application of paint, while the middle ground of river or lake is more simply treated. Such treatment of the mountains evokes a feeling of rock and snow texture. The situating of trees or shrubs to each side of the foreground, however, suggests conventions which originated with the picturesque.

Before his sketching trip to the Rockies in 1914, J.W. Beatty

(1869-1941) had been one of the earliest painters to promote a national school of Canadian landscape painting. Beatty was born in Toronto and began to study art in 1893. He first attended the Galbraith Academy, "a school of 'Painting, Modelling and Drawing'"[179] where he was taught by Frederic Bell-Smith. In 1900, he studied in Paris at the Académie Julian with Jean-Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant. As the Galbraith Academy had been affiliated with the Académie Julian, it is possible that this affected his decision to study there.[180] In 1912 he began to teach at the Ontario College of Art and remained there until his death.

Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot was a source of inspiration for Beatty who adopted the French artist's feathery brush stroke, silhouetted forms and the blurred treatment of the landscape.[181] In his early career he was influenced by A.Y. Jackson's use of shorter "more impressionistic" brush strokes.[182]

Newton MacTavish considered Beatty "one of the first, if not the very first, to prove the merits of [northern Ontario] as a great field for landscape painting."[183] He was also interested in other areas and in 1914 he arranged a commission with the Canadian Northern Railway for himself and A.Y. Jackson to visit the Rockies.[184] The resulting paintings were to be used for advertising by the railway which was then building its line through the Yellowhead Pass. As the line went bankrupt soon after, the acquisition of works never took place.[185] To obtain his sketches Beatty usually stayed close to the tracks.[186] The titles of his works exhibited in the 1915 Canadian National Exhibition often include the words, "as seen from the C.N.R.

line."[187] Very few paintings from Beatty's trip have been located. That Jackson was critical of Beatty's work is seen in a letter to J.E.H. MacDonald: "Bill started off with over 200 panels and tried to cover them all," he wrote. "The Rocky Mountains were no problem to him . . . he just applied the rules . . . used by Bell-Smith and all the other buckeye manufacturers and only his freer execution places his work above theirs."[188] The following year, five paintings and nine sketches from Beatty's trip were exhibited in the Canadian Northern Railway Building of the Canadian National Exhibition.[189] Jackson showed one painting.

One of the works by Beatty was Evening at Jasper, View from the C.N.R. Station, presumably the painting titled Evening at Jasper (Plate 51), now in the Winnipeg Art Gallery. It is a canvas that Beatty must have worked up from one of his panel sketches. The dramatic composition suggests his idealistic attitude toward the Canadian landscape. A snow-covered mountain top, bathed in evening light, is situated above a large area of loosely painted trees through which may be glimpsed a lake or river. It is not the usual wooded, more intimate subject matter of Beatty up to this point, nor is it a typical mountain scene with mountains in the background and water in foreground. The painting is broadly handled and, like much of Beatty's painting, maintains the use of realistic colour.

When he travelled to the Rockies with Beatty in 1914, A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974) had just begun his association with the group of landscape artists which were to become the Group of Seven. Few of his mountain paintings survive from the trip for he destroyed most of them.[190]

Jackson lived in Montreal until 1914 when he moved to Toronto and began his association with members of the future Group. His background in lithography is well known. In Montreal, he had studied at Le Monument nationale with Edmond Dyonnet and also attended the classes of William Brymner. During these years he may have been aware of Brymner's C.P.R. paintings of the Rocky Mountains. Jackson recalled that "it was through Cullen and Morrice that we in Montreal first became aware of . . . movements going on in the art circles of France."[191] He spent three and a half years in Europe which included six months at the Académie Julian under Jean-Paul Laurens. Dennis Reid points out that he had the most thorough European training of any of the Group except Lawren Harris.[192]

Although he found the Rockies as subject matter to be personally unsatisfying, Jackson appreciated the symbolic quality of this far-flung region of the Canadian landscape. In an article of 1924, he wrote that,

> the pastoral landscape is petering out. Wire fences, square cows, prize pigs and other breed stock offer nothing to the artist. But there are a couple of million square miles in the north and the west where the artist can roam undisturbed for some years to come.[193]

He resented the heavy importation of Dutch painting by Montreal collectors; his favourable assessment of MacDonald in 1913 was that he "could wallop the Dutchmen when occasion calls."[194]

Naomi Jackson Groves has described the arrangement with the C.N.R. of Jackson and Beatty as "tentative" because "they never received the hope-for commission."[195] No records of the commission have come to light although, as mentioned, some of their work was exhibited in the Canadian Northern Building at the Canadian National Exhibition.[196]

The two artists based themselves in Yellowhead Pass. Jackson, keen to explore the heights, recalled the thrill of learning "to get about in the mountains with neither blankets nor tent. . . ."[197] He recorded little of this visit but after a trip in 1924 he wrote the already-mentioned article, "Artists in the Mountains" which reveals some of his attitudes toward painting in the Rockies. He discusses the problems of design and clearly reveals the change in artists' perceptions of mountains since painters first came out on the C.P.R. less than 40 years before. "[Artists] are aware of the mountains," he wrote, "but the mountains which, in nature, fill us with awe and ecstacy, in art become the mild picture that might soothe a weary stockbroker." Likely thinking of the earlier C.P.R. painters, Jackson opined that "the artist has surrendered too completely to nature. A mighty mountain painted with photographic accuracy may be a trifling affair as a work of art. The mere representation of nature is nowhere so ineffective as in paintings of mountains."[198]

Jackson recalled painting only one canvas on the trip and that one was later painted over.[199] Reid states that this was the canvas he exhibited in the Canadian National Exhibition which was titled _Night, A View of Mt. Robson from Berg Lake_. A sketch which is considered to be from 1914 is mistitled _Mt. Robson_ (Plate 52), in the McMichael Conservation Collection. The mountains actually appear to be the Three Sisters which are near Canmore. However, as Jackson is not known to have visited that region during this period, the subject, if not the date, of the sketch is uncertain. The sketch reveals not only an interest in painting the mountains more directly without emphasizing depth, but also a desire to depict them in clear light rather than in the background surrounded by mist, a device seen in works by Lucius O'Brien and Frederic Bell-Smith. In the 1924 article, Jackson wrote that he "liked the clear sunny days and the grey days when the mountains cut the sky like an iron. . . . There was enough mystery in the mighty ranges without resorting to mist as an accessory."[200] Jackson had recently returned from his third trip to Europe during which he had experimented with Post-Impressionism. The sketch, unfortunately, is not a clear indication of the painter's skill at this time. His landscape painting by 1913 has been placed within the tradition of northern Symbolist painting. Terre Sauvage (National Gallery of Canada), of that year, contains elements which Roald Nasgaard points out became standard in paintings by Jackson and which relate his work to northern European and North American Symbolism.[201] Relevant to the McMichael Collection sketch is intensified colour, simplified forms and frontal orientation.

Summary

An examination of painting in the Rocky Mountains in this chapter has revealed a continuation of some of the trends seen in previous chapters. The evidence of the picturesque as a concern in alpine landscape painting in the twentieth century is suggested by paintings by, for instance, T.W. Fripp and Thomas Wilkinson. Fripp's depictions of the Rocky Mountains painted in an English watercolour style found a ready market throughout most of his career. He is reported to have expressed resentment, near the end of his career, at all the time he had spent "making [the mountains] pretty for other people."[202] As would be expected, the influence of European painting and training becomes apparent in this chapter by the turn of the century. Except for the English watercolourists and painters such as Verner and Innes, the effects of the by now widely spread influences of French painting are revealed in most of the works in this chapter. As suggested, many of these artists did not frequently paint alpine landscape. Their experience of landscape painting would have centred on more intimate subject matter than the cold, rocky expanses of the Rocky Mountains. Most came only once or twice, regardless of the possibility of free rail transportation. With some knowledge of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist techniques, these painters approached the alpine landscape equipped with different conventions than their predecessors. They applied such techniques as freer brush strokes, intensified colour and tended to flatten the images. In the work of Jackson, a modernist-inspired conception of landscape contrasts with the highly representative work of some of the painters in the chapter. As for choice of subject, the artists who painted specific mountains, rather than generalized conceptions, of the Rockies tended to either be under obligation to the railways, like Simpson and Kenderdine, or to be fairly frequent painters of the mountains. The latter group included Fripp, Haukaness, de Forest and Thomas.

Western scenes representing the disappearing life of the Canadian West also depicted the Rocky Mountains. As seen in the second chapter, this tradition began with Paul Kane. In this chapter, it is represented by Frederick Verner, John Innes and the American painter of the 'Old West', Frederic Remington. Innes' exhibitions of "The Western Epic" began in 1915 and continued into the 1930s. Related to the production of these scenes was the nineteenth-century passion for representation. This desire for apparent truthfulness to nature tended to preclude a successful interpretation of mountains. As A.Y. Jackson wrote, "the mere representation of nature is nowhere so ineffective as in paintings of mountains."[203]

The use of photography as aid in painting has been seen in the work of several artists in this chapter. In particular, Verner and Remington and, probably, Innes, painters of the 'Old West', frequently relied on photography. Besides these painters, the work of less significant artists such as E.J. Hutchins and John Pedder also suggests the use of photography. However, existing documentation suggests that photography played a less important role in this chapter than it did in the previous one, which included the artists encouraged by the C.P.R. to make use of photography. Besides these factors, fewer artists in this chapter had previously been employed in photographic studios than artists in the former one.

Among the American artists who visited the area, the topographical tradition, combined with a picturesque mode of depicting mountains is suggested by the painting of Cleveland Rockwell. Frederic Remington represents the popular painter of the 'Old West' and Leonard

Davis' Rocky Mountain paintings suggest a late influence of Luminism. John Singer Sargent's strong and accomplished rendering of the mountains around Lake O'Hara reveals his own particular treatment of the Rocky Mountain composition.

The discrepancy between artists' descriptions of the mountains and their visual depictions of same is less apparent in this chapter. This situation is partly due to the changing times and more 'painterly' attitude toward alpine painting by artists who had trained in Europe. One interesting exception is the case of Emily Warren, who attempted to visually describe the mountains in the literary terms of Ruskin. The disrepancy between descriptions of works in reviews and the works themselves was seen in the cases of Leonard Davis and Charles John Collings. Thomas Fripp, who produced so many "pretty" pictures of the Rockies, described the "grandeur" of the mountains and their "wildness and primitive savagery that grips the heart of the traveller."[204]

As also seen in Chapter III, one of the motivations which encouraged artists to paint in the Rockies was the climate of nationalism which is evident in writings throughout the period. At the beginning of World War I, the spirit of nationalism is particularly apparent in the attitudes of Homer Watson, A.Y. Jackson and J.W. Beatty who promoted the Canadian landscape when the prevailing taste was for Dutch landscapes.

An examination of the paintings of the Rocky Mountains in this chapter has also revealed that significant railway patronage of landscape painters continued well into the twentieth century. By 1914, the railways involved included the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk

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Pacific. It appears that almost all the painters who came to the West from central Canada, as well as some from the West, received help from the railways. Jackson and Beatty, Emily Warren, and probably Homer Watson received free passes from one or both of the companies. Charles Simpson, as an employee of the C.P.R., would have been guaranteed passage and Florence Carlyle would likely have also received a pass. Of artists who lived in the West, Sheldon-Williams arranged for assistance from the company while he was in Montreal in 1913 and Augustus Kenderdine was commissioned by the Canadian National Railway to paint in the mountains. Among the American artists, Remington apparently received a free pass from the C.P.R. and it is likely, knowing the C.P.R.'s previous enthusiasm for well-known American artists, that Sargent was assisted by the company. Leonard Davis' link with the company is revealed by the fact that his paintings of the Prince of Wales' ranch were exhibited in the C.P.R. section of the British Empire Exhibition in 1924.

It seems likely that many of these artists would not have visited the Rockies were it not for railway patronage in the form of free or reduced costs of travel. The situation of Charles Simpson is more obvious: he was an employee of the C.P.R. It is unlikely that Emily Warren could have afforded to come West were she not given free passes; the same may be suggested for Leonard Davis in 1923. It appears that, had Beatty not been able to obtain free passage on the C.N.R., he and Jackson would not have painted the Rockies in 1914. It thus becomes clearer that the patronage of the railways definitely increased the number of artists who painted in the Rockies after the turn of the century. The third chapter dealt with the situation of C.P.R. patronage as it existed in the 1880s and 1890s. This chapter has revealed that this patronage continued, albeit without the enlightened leadership of W.C. Van Horne.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter IV

[1] Frederic Remington, "A Few Words from Mr. Remington," Collier's, 18 March 1905, p. 16; as quoted in Frederic Remington, exhibition catalogue, text by Peter H. Hassrick (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1973), p. 6.

[2] Peter H. Hassrick, Frederic Remington, Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture in the Amon Carter Museum and the Sid. W. Richardson Foundation Collections (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1973), p. 18.

[3] William A. Coffin, "American Illustration of To-day," Scribner's Magazine, 11 (March 1892), p. 348; as quoted in Frederic Remington, p. 3.

[4] Estelle Jussim, Frederic Remington & the Old West (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter, 1983), p. 3. See also Peggy and Harold Samuels, Frederic Remington, A Biography (New York: Doubleday, 1982), p. 73.

[5] Calgary Herald, 27 May 1887, p. 8. For reference to 1890 visit, see Colonist [Victoria], 19 July 1890, p. 5.

[6] Jon Whyte and E.J. Hart state that Remington was one of the artists who was "encouraged" by the C.P.R. to visit the Canadian Rockies. See Jon Whyte and E.J. Hart, Carl Rungius, Painter of the Western Wilderness (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, in association with Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver, 1985), p. 82.

[7] Remington, himself, identified the location as the Selkirk Mountains in a letter to Frank Squire, 30 Jan. 1890; as quoted in Hassrick, p. 66.

[8] Photocopies of these photographs were sent to the author by the Frederic Remington Art Museum, Odgensburg, New York.

[9] Letter received from Melody D. Ward, Assistant to the Director, Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, New York, 25 July 1985. A print of this photograph is among the Remington collection of photographs.

[10] Belmore Browne remarked 13 years later that reproductions of Lake O'Hara were to be seen "in every corner of the world." ("Addresses Rotary on Art in Connection with Business," Crag & Canyon [Banff], 26 April 1929).

[11] Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (London: Phaidon, 1971), pp. 16-7. This group, Boime writes, had a pronounced effect on the art of the Third Republic. "Certainly, they debased the ideals of the Impressionists in favour of contemporary taste," he writes, "but in doing so, they introduced into official and academic circles such features as a lighter palette and a looser, quasi-Impressionist execution."

[12] Evan Charteris, John Sargent (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1927), p. 170.

[13] As quoted in Carter Ratcliff, John Singer Sargent (New York, 1982), p. 121.

[14] Richard Ormond, John Singer Sargent (London: Phaidon, 1970), p. 69.

[15] J.S. Sargent to Evan Charteris; as quoted in Charteris, p. 206.

[16] Rebecca Karo, "Ah Wilderness! Sargent in the Rockies," Fenway Court (Boston: The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1977), p. 21. Titled "Yoho Falls," it is in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

[17] J.S. Sargent to Mrs. Isabella Stewart Gardner, 20 Aug. 1916; as quoted in Karo, p. 23.

[18] Vernon Lee, "J.S.S., in Memoriam," in Charteris, p. 253.

[19] "Exhibits attract," El Palacio [Sante Fe, New Mexico], Jan. and Feb. 1915, p. 6. The artist sometimes distorted facts about himself. The Calgary Herald, 14 Sept. 1917, reported that he had exhibited "a magnificent collection of Alaskan pictures for which he received the Silver Medal at the Panama-Pacific Exhibition at San Francisco." However, the Official Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915 (San Francisco: Wahlgreen, 1915), makes no mention of Davis. The Museum of New Mexico does own one work, Aurora Borealis from Davis' Alaskan period.

[20] "Leonard M. Davis' Paintings," Calgary Herald, 13 Oct. 1923.

[21] Sketches are titled Mountain Waterfall and Mountain Sunset, and painting is Mountain Scene, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff.

[22] Approximately 20 oil on cardboard works which depict ranch subjects are in the Public Archives of Canada.

[23] "Prince of Wales' Ranch Depicted," Gazette [Montreal], 22 March 1924, p. 10.

[24] Calgary Herald, 13 July 1929.

[25] "Noted Painter, L.M. Davis, Gets Banff Sketches," Calgary Herald, 18 July 1917, p. 7.

[26] Annora Brown, Letter to Moncrieff Williamson, 4 March 1961, Glenbow Archives. In the letter, Brown recalled that Davis had told her that "he was the re-incarnation of Leonardo da Vinci because their names were so similar and they were both so clever at so many things."

[27] Calgary Herald, 18 July 1917, p. 7.

[28] "Scenic Artist's Works on View," Calgary Herald, 14 Sept. 1917. A letter in the Glenbow Archives documents this association with the Alpine Club. See D.G. Campbell to Eric D. McGreer, 3 May 1958. This is one of the few instances that has come to light of the club sponsoring alpine painters although the first issue of the Canadian Alpine Journal states that one of the aims was "the cultivation of Art in relation to mountain scenery" and that "soon . . . a competition for oils and watercolours will be opened for active members." (Elizabeth Parker, "The Alpine Club of Canada," Canadian Alpine Journal 1 [1907]). It is possible that Florence Carlyle was assisted by the club. According to the catalogue which accompanied her memorial exhibition, Carlyle was a member of the Canadian Alpine Club when she apparently visited the Rockies in 1897. (This date is incorrect and should read 1912). Sketches of Rocky Mountain subjects were included in the exhibition. (A Memorial Exhibition of the Paintings of the Late Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A., May 26-June 6, 1925, Jenkins Art Galleries, Toronto). The only located Rocky Mountain painting by Carlyle is unavailable for study.

[29] Calgary Herald, 14 Sept. 1917.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Davis donated the work to the Calgary Chamber of Commerce in gratitude for assistance during his Calgary visit. (D.G. Campbell letter). It appears that this painting was exhibited in the Calgary Stampede from time to time. In 1929 a painting by Davis referred to as Vermilion Lake, Banff was lent to the Exhibition by the Board of Trade. (Calgary Herald, 13 July 1929).

[32] See Barbara Novak, "On Defining Luminism," in American Light, The Luminist Movement, 1850-1875, ed. John Wilmerding (New York: Harper & Row; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1980), p. 25. See also in the same work: Theodore E. Stebbens, Jr., "Luminism in Context: A New View," pp. 211-36.

[33] Franz Stenzel, Cleveland Rockwell, Scientist and Artist, 1837-1907 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1972), p. 71.

[34] Sources for most biographical information for Rockwell include Stenzel, Cleveland Rockwell and Lorne Render The Mountains and the Sky (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute/McClelland and Stewart West, 1974).

[35] Ibid., p. 73.

[36] A larger work, also suggesting picturesque conventions, resulted from his 1892 trip: In the Rocky Mountains, Canada, oil, 86 x 152.5 cm., recently sold from the Stenzel Collection.

[37] See Bart Robinson, The Banff Springs, The Story of a Hotel (Banff: Summerthought, 1973), pp. 41-2.

[38] Thomas W. Fripp, 1864-1931, exhibition catalogue, text by Nicholas Tuele (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1983), p. 6.

[39] Ibid., p. 12.

[40] Thomas W. Fripp, autobiographical article in Museum Notes [Vancouver] 2, No. 1 (Feb. 1927), p. 11.

[41] Thomas W. Fripp, p. 10.

[42] Ibid., p. 13, n. 17. Fripp also gave lectures from time to time. See British Columbia Sunset, 30 Oct. 1909.

[43] At the time of the British Empire Exhibition in 1924 and the National Gallery of Canada Annual Exhibition of 1930, Fripp put pressure on the organizers to accept more western Canadian work. See Thomas W. Fripp, p. 9.

[44] "Studio Talk," The Studio, 15 Feb. 1918, p. 31.

[45] Phillips, "Art and Artists," Winnipeg Tribune, 6 June 1931; as quoted in Phillips in Print, eds. Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Record Society, 1982), p. 111.

[46] Ibid., p. 112.

[47] Collings may have first met Baird in Devon in the 1880s. During that period Baird produced picturesque illustrations for the publication, Antiquities of Exeter. See J.W. Wood, Dictionary of British Animal Painters (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, 1973).

[48] Phillips, "Art and Artists," Winnipeg Tribune, 15 Aug. 1931.

[49] Andrew Scott, "Mountain Master, the non-conformist genius of Charles John Collings," Antiques and Art, Sept./Oct. 1978, p. 34. Scott was commenting on an extensive exhibition of Collings' work at the Uno Langmann Gallery, Vancouver, June 1978.

[50] Maria Tippett, "Charles John Collings, 'The Recluse of the Rockies'," Beaver, Autumn 1975, p. 4.

[51] See Frances Spalding, "Changing Nature: British Landscape Painting, 1850-1950," in Landscape in Britain, 1850-1950, exhibition catalogue, texts by Spalding, Ian Jeffrey and Donald Davie (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983), pp. 9-21.

[52] Linda Heath, "John Charles Collings, 1848-1931," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Victoria, 1982, pp. 21-2.

[53] Val Davis, "The Art of Charles John Collings: An appreciation," Studio, 15 Oct. 1912, pp. 21-2.

[54] Heath, p. 41.

[55] Phillips, "Art and Artists."

[56] Tippett, p. 7. See also Saturday Night, 6 Dec. 1924.

[57] Davis, pp. 21-2.

[58] Nancy Tousley, "Visual Arts," Calgary Herald, 4 May 1978.

[59] The work was purchased from the Carroll Gallery, Collings' London dealer, in 1918. (Katherine Emma Maltwood, Artist, 1878-1961, exhibition catalogue, text by Rosemary Alicia Brown [Victoria: Sono Nis Press for the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, Univ. of Victoria, 1981], p. 52).

[60] Constance McRae, The Light Must be Perfect, the Life and Art of Emily Warren (Toronto: Dreadnaught, 1981), pp. 50, 64 and 91.

[61] Constance McRae, "A neglected Canadian artist, Emily Warren, RBA, 1869-1956," Canadian Collector, Nov./Dec. 1977, p. 45. One of these letters and a telegram are in The Ruskin Galleries, Bembridge School, Isle of Wight. Copies of three letters are in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Univ. of Toronto.

[62] Joan Abse, John Ruskin, The Passionate Moralist (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), p. 323.

[63] John Ruskin, Letter to Emily Warren, 30 Dec. 1885, photocopy in Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Univ. of Toronto; Constance McRae, "Monuments to Mountains, An Artist's Journey," Antiques and Art, June/July 1980, p. 28.

[64] McRae, The Light Must be Perfect, p. 34; McRae, "A neglected Canadian artist," p. 46.

[65] Warren's thesis was titled "The cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, a life history and description." (McRae, *The Light Must be Perfect*, p. 29). In 1913 and 1916, she exhibited paintings of church interiors in the Royal Academy. (*Royal Academy Exhibitors, 1905-1970, A Dictionary of Artists and Their Work in the Summer Exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Arts* [Wakefield: England, EP Publishing, 1973-]).

[66] She produced the illustrations, many of which suggest a picturesque mood, for E.T. Cook, *Homes and Haunts of John Ruskin*, Illus. Emily Warren (London: George Allen, 1912). After her arrival in Canada, Warren illustrated other publications such as Frank Oliver Call, *The Spell of French Canada* (Boston: L.C. Page, 1926) and Frank Oliver Call, *The Spell of Acadia* (Boston: L.C. Page, 1930).

[67] E.B. Warren to Constance McRae, 4 Feb. 1952; as quoted in McRae, *The Light Must be Perfect*, p. 91.

[68] Lectures on the Rockies, Emily Warren Collection, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Univ. of Toronto.

[69] McRae, "Monuments to mountains," p. 30.

[70] Madge Macbeth, "Canada adopts an English Artist, Miss E.M.B. Warren," *Saturday Night*, 4 Dec. 1920, pp. 30 and 39.

[71] Warren's biographer states that this was one of the paintings done during her first year in Canada. (Letter received from Mrs. Constance McRae, 15 Oct. 1985).

[72] *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 Nov. 1920.

[73] Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, I, p. 136; as quoted in *The Art Criticism of John Ruskin*, ed. Robert L. Herbert (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 30.

[74] *Spectator* [Hamilton], 9 Aug. 1929, p. 7.

[75] ________. 14 Oct. 1931, p. 23.

[76] Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R.," MS, p. 209.

[77] Letter received from Virgina G. Berry, The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 21 Jan. 1986; Mrs. Berry is presently working on the exhibition catalogue, *Vista of Promise: Manitoba 1874-1919*, which will accompany the exhibition to be held in late 1987 at the Winnipeg Art Gallery. See also *Historical Watercolours from the Glenbow Collection*, exhibition catalogue, text by Christopher E. Jackson (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1985), p. 24. Hutchins is described as "another of the local painters who endlessly repeated views of Upper and Lower Fort Garry." (*150 Years of Art in Manitoba*, p. 84). Some of these were historic. An 1874 view of Fort Garry, for instance, was painted about 1910. A

work by Hutchins, *Great Illecillewaet Glacier*, in the Glenbow Museum, is less skilled than, but similar in detail to, works by William G.R. Hind.

[78] The medium suggests that the work was intended for publication. Pedder exhibited watercolours in the Royal Academy during the 1880s and 1890s and was a member of the Royal Institute of Water-Colour Painters. (*Image of Canada, Documentary watercolours and drawings from the permanent collection of the Public Archives of Canada*, ed. Michael Bell [Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972], np). Another artist whose watercolours of the Rockies are in the Public Archives Collection, is Goddard Gale (Act. 1883-92), who may have come from England in the early 1880s. He is known to have travelled as far west as Red River. (J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 124.

[79] See Joan Murray, *The Last Buffalo, the Story of Frederick Arthur Verner, Painter of the Canadian West* (Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1984); William Colgate, *Canadian Art, its Origin and Development* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1943), p. 18, repeats the accepted version that Verner "spent *many* years in the foothills of the Rockies reproducing in watercolour the scenes of Western life."

[80] Colgate, *Canadian Art*, p. 18.

[81] Murray, p. 19.

[82] *Ibid*., p. 36; Margaret Annette, *Paintings, Watercolours, Drawings, Frederick Arthur Verner*, Jour. no. 20 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976), p. 2, cites Verner as asking (and being refused) Kane for art instruction when Verner was fifteen years old.

[83] Murray, p. 37.

[84] Reid, *Our Own Country Canada*, pp. 246-7.

[85] Murray, p. 66. Murray states that the buffalo herds were west of Verner when he was in Manitoba in 1873.

[86] A reviewer of the Royal Academy exhibition in 1881 referred to him as an animal painter. (*Art Journal*, 33-[1881], p. 221).

[87] *Dominion Illustrated*, 27 Oct. 1888, p. 259. Twenty years later, he was still well known in Canada. "Nowadays," wrote a reporter, "when one sees a picture . . . of buffalo life, the first impulse is to compare it with the work of Verner." (*Globe* [Toronto], 18 April 1908).

[88] Murray, p. 54.

[89] *Ibid*., p. 97.

[90] Murray noted that Verner copied landscape subjects from Picturesque America. (Ibid., p. 92).

[91] Calgary Herald, 11 Nov. 1885.

[92] John Bruce Cowan, John Innes, Painter of the Canadian West (Vancouver: Rose, Cowan and Latta, 1945), p. 9, states that Innes attended Dufferin Military Academy.

[93] Colin S. Macdonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1968).

[94] "John Innes, Historical scenic painter," June 1931, author not stated, City of Vancouver Archives. Also see "Calgary looked good to this man in 1884," Calgary Herald, 13 Oct. 1923.

[95] See Macdonald, Dictionary; Prairie Illustrated News, 31 Jan. 1891.

[96] See C.P. Sclater, Bell Telephone Company, Letter to E. Rawlings, Montreal, 6 Dec. 1887, Bell Telephone Company of Canada Archives, photocopy in John Innes file, National Gallery of Canada. The Calgary Directory for 1888 cites Innes as manager of the telephone company. By 1889 he was a resident of Banff and a member of "Halpin & Innes." In 1890, he was still in Banff; his occupation was cited as "artist." (Henderson's North West Territories Directory).

[97] He was also involved with The Hornet in New Westminster, in the late 1890s. (Cowan, p. 14).

[98] Cowan, p. 16. Innes apparently studied art in New York and had friends such as the sculptor, George Gray Barnard.

[99] Ibid. Innes later recalled that he spent six years in New York. (Province [Vancouver], 17 Mar. 1929, mag. sect., p. 3).

[100] See Interview with John Innes, 30 June 1931, interviewer not recorded, City of Vancouver Archives; Evening Free Press [London, Ontario], 17 July 1936.

[101] Colgate, p. 187.

[102] Cowan, pp. 17-8.

[103] Cowan, p. 21.

[104] "Picturing the Pioneers in Historical Vein," Province [Vancouver], 17 Mar. 1929, mag. sect., p. 3.

[105] These included eight large paintings depicting the history of the province commissioned by the Native Sons of British Columbia and

funded by a grant from the Hudson's Bay Company. They were donated to the Univ. of British Columbia and are now on loan to Simon Fraser Univ. Also ten murals for the David Spencer Store, Vancouver, in 1926, in collaboration with G.M. Southwell; (See *Province* [Vancouver], 5 July 1927, p. 22); and a work depicting the first meeting of Vancouver city council.

[106] "John Innes, 1863-1941," unsigned essay in John Innes file, National Gallery of Canada Library.

[107] See *Scarlet and Gold Annual*, Royal Northwest Mounted Police Veteran's *Association [Vancouver]*, 2nd. annual, 1920. Innes also provided several illustrations for the publication.

[108] *The Epic of Western Canada*, exhibition catalogue (Vancouver: *Hudson's Bay Company, 1929)*, p. 15. The catalogue ends with the following lines, revealing an expansionist sentiment reminiscent of the 1880s: "The twentieth century is Canada's--It is yet only morning in the North-West--Come in on the Flood-tide of Opportunity!"

[109] Frederic Remington, *Four Masterpieces in Color* (New York: Collier's, n.d.). Remington *destroyed this work in 1908.* (Hassrick, pp. 160-1.

[110] He worked for the Montreal Star at one time under Henri Julien, who had visited the West in 1874. (*Standard* [Montrea]), 1 Oct. 1938).

[111] See Charles W. Stokes, *Round About the Rockies* (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1923); Betty Thornley, *Canadian Pacific Rockies* (n.p.); *Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Spirit of Canada, Dominion and Provinces*, A Souvenir welcome to His Majesty King George *VI and Her Majesty Queen* Elizabeth, (Toronto, 1939).

[112] *Jasper Park Lodge; Canada's Distinctive Bungalow Hotel*, Jasper *National Park, Canada's Rockies, (C.N.R., c.1935)* and *Alaska and the Yukon: Land of the Midnight Sun* (C.N.R., c.1925).

[113] These included a mural celebrating ancient Scottish history, for the Montreal Museum of Fine Art (then, the Art Association of Montreal) and a series of paintings titled, "Historic Canadian Council Meetings." (*Star* [Montreal], 19 Oct. 1927).

[114] John Murray Gibbon, unpublished TS. M454-1, 91-92, Archives, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff. Part of this text has been obliterated.

[115] See *Exhibition of Paintings by Charles W. Simpson, A.R.C.A.*, The Arts Club, *Nov. 4th-23rd, 1916 (Montreal: The Arts Club, 1916)*. Simpson also included "studies for Rocky Mountain etchings" in this exhibition.

[116] More than one of his illustrations for the above publication appears in the that of 1923.

[117] *Inglis Sheldon-Williams*, exhibition catalogue, text by Patricia Ainslie (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1982), p. 18.

[118] William Gaunt, *A Concise History of English Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964), p. 207. Augustus John (1878-1961) was also a student at the Slade at the time.

[119] *Inglis Sheldon-Williams*, p. 12.

[120] Inglis Sheldon-Williams, Letter to Ina Sheldon-Williams, 7 April 1913, Glenbow Archives. If he visited the Art Association of Montreal while he was in Montreal, Sheldon-Williams likely could have seen paintings of the Rockies by Bell-Smith. (*Art Association of Montreal, 30th Spring Exhibition*, from March 26th; as cited in *Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith (1846-1923)*, exhibition catalogue, text by Roger Boulet [Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1977], p. 135).

[121] *Inglis Sheldon-Williams*, p. 38.

[122] Sheldon-Williams notebook, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[123] Bell-Smith was first in the Rockies via the Yellowhead Pass route in 1914. *Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith*, p. 114. However, subjects listed in the notebook suggest that Sheldon-Williams was on the C.P.R. route.

[124] *Augustus Kenderdine*, exhibition catalogue, text by Maeve Spain (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1986), p. 10.

[125] Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (1968; rpt. Penquin, 1983), p. 90.

[126] *Augustus Kenderdine*, p. 13.

[127] "Our Own Art Exhibition," *Blackpool Gazette News*, 1902; as quoted in *Augustus Kenderdine*, p. 16.

[128] *Augustus Kenderdine*, p. 23.

[129] The guest book for Mount Robson Ranch, B.C., lists Kenderdine as a guest in July 1923 and Sept. 1924. A letter to the Alpine Club also suggests that he was in the Banff area. (Walter Murray, President, Univ. of Saskatchewan, Letter to Secretary, Alpine Club, 15 July 1924, Walter Murray correspondence, Univ. of Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon. With thanks to Maeve Spain for bringing this to my attention).

[130] In 1925, Newton MacTavish wrote that the Canadian National

Railway had already begun to send artists to the mountains "as a valuable method of publicity." (Newton MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada [Toronto: MacMillan, 1925], p. 470). An article of 1929 refers to Kenderdine as having been commissioned by the railway "at one time." (Star Weekly, 16 Nov. 1929).

131 Letter received from Patrick Starcosta, C.N.R., 19 Nov. 1985.

132 Augustus Kenderdine, p. 28.

133 Lars Haukaness, Exhibition List, compiled by Helen Collinson, property of Helen Collinson.

134 Helen Collinson, "Lars Haukaness, Artist and Instructor," Alberta History, 32, No. 4 (Autumn 1984), p. 13.

135 Ibid., p. 14.

136 Ibid.

137 "Well Known Artist Dies in the Rockies," Calgary Herald, 6 Sept. 1929.

138 Daily World [Vancouver], 6 Mar. 1900, p. 1.

139 Harper cites that he studied under J.D. Moultray in Edinburgh; Daily World [Vancouver], 6 Mar. 1900, p. 1, refers to de Forest's "training under a royal Scotch academician."

140 Biographical notes, H.J. de Forest file, National Gallery of Canada.

141 Wylie Thom, "The Fine Arts in Vancouver, 1886-1930, An Historical Survey," M.A. thesis, Univ. of British Columbia, 1969, p. 15; de Forest was in Hawaii in 1891. (Guide and Handbook to the Museum, Vancouver, B.C., written and compiled by J. Frances Bursill and H.J. de Forest [Vancouver: 1908], p. 41). In a photocopy of a journal kept by de Forest between Dec. 23, 1892 and Jan. 7, 1893 (Glenbow Archives), de Forest indicates that he returned from Australia in Aug. 1891. He submitted a New Zealand landscape subject to the 1893 R.C.A. exhibition and the Chicago Exposition. (Canadian Department of Fine Art, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893). For both exhibitions, his address is listed as Saint John, N.B.

142 Daily World [Vancouver], 14 May 1893, p. 4; 21 Oct. 1893, p. 4; 17 Oct. 1898, p. 5.

143 For example, Wauganni River, New Zealand, 1891, oil on panel, compared to Black River Falls, 1898, oil on panel, both in private collection, Edmonton.

[144] New-Advertiser [Vancouver], 26 April 1900, p. 8; as quoted in Thom, p. 18.

[145] Thom, p. 27. The collection included mineralogical items as well as paintings by F.M. Bell-Smith, H.J. de Forest and others.

[146] British Columbia Society of Fine Arts, First Annual Exhibition, Vancouver, April 10-13, 1909.

[147] Daily World [Vancouver], 6 March 1900, p. 1.

[148] Arthur Mowbray, "With the B.C. Artists," Daily Province [Vancouver], 27 Sept. 1916, p. 6.

[149] Province [Vancouver], 2 Oct. 1919.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Thom, pp. 81 and 85.

[152] Calgary Directory, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924.

[153] Centennial Exhibition, 100 Years of Painting in Calgary and Vicinity, exhibition catalogue, text by H.G. Hunt (Calgary, 1967), p. 9. A photocopy of one of de Forest's business cards (n.d., in Glenbow Archives) states that his studio address in Calgary was 226 - 8th Avenue West.

[154] Calgary Herald, 24 Mar. 1924.

[155] Besides the located sketches, a recent sale to an unrecorded buyer by a Calgary antique dealer was an oil, Lake Agnes Above Lake Louise, dated 1912.

[156] J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada.

[157] Ontario Society of Artists, annual exhibition catalogue, 1901; Evelyn de R. McMann, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Exhibitions and Members, 1880-1979 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1981).

[158] Thomas' address at the time of the 1916 RCA exhibition is listed as being in Vancouver. (McMann).

[159] Thom, p. 55.

[160] News Advertiser [Vancouver], 29 Dec. 1904; as quoted in Thom, p. 56.

[161] Thom, p. 27.

[162] News Advertiser [Vancouver], 20 Nov. 1903, p. 8; as quoted in Thom, p. 22. The exhibition was held in the Hicks and Lovicks Piano Store.

[163] __________, [Vancouver], 29 Dec. 1904, p. 3; as quoted in Thom, p. 56.

[164] __________, 24 March 1905, p. 8; as quoted in Thom, p. 24.

[165] __________, 18 Nov. 1906, p. 10; as quoted in Thom, p. 33; See B.C. Saturday Sunset [Vancouver], 30 Nov. 1907; and Thom, p. 34.

[166] British Columbia Society of Fine Arts, First Annual Exhibition, Dominion Hall, Vancouver, April 20-23, 1909; British Columbia Society of Fine Arts, Second Exhibition, Mercantile Building, Vancouver, Nov., 1909.

[167] B.C. Saturday Sunset [Vancouver], 11 Dec. 1909.

[168] Exhibition of Water Colors and Oil Paintings, by Alice Blair Thomas, Empress Hotel, Victoria, May 15-19th, 1914.

[169] McMann.

[170] Florence E. Deacon, "The art of Mary Riter Hamilton," Canadian Magazine 39, No. 6 (Oct. 1912), p. 558. The article also lists other art teachers: "drawing from Mercon and Gervais"; Mary Riter Hamilton, 1873-1954, exhibition catalogue, text by Robert Amos (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria), p. 20. The latter, who Amos cites as "employing aggitated brush strokes," is likely Claudio Castelucho (1870-1927) who taught in Paris and exhibited at the Salon des Indépendants from 1904. (E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire critique and documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs and Graveurs (Paris: Librairie Grund, 1960-1976), p. 370.

[171] The Ladies Review, supp. to The Week [Victoria], 6 Dec. 1913, p. 1. This reference comes from TS of the article, not original source.

[172] Albertan [Calgary], 9 Dec. 1912, p. 4. The over 100 oils and watercolours were exhibited in the public library and organized by the Calgary Art Association. Exhibitions of her work, partly sponsored by the Duchess of Connaught, wife of the Governor-General of Canada, were also held in 1911 and 1912 in Toronto, probably Montreal, and Ottawa and Vancouver. (Mary Riter Hamilton, p. 7).

[173] She was sponsored by a magazine, The Gold Stripe, A Book of War, Peace and Reconstruction. It was published by the Amputation Club of British Columbia and, according to Robert Amos, was to feature contributions from veterans and to record valiant deeds by local men. See also Province [Vancouver], 15 April 1954. 227 of the war sketches are in the Public Archives of Canada.

[174] See Madge Macbeth, "One of Our Last War Workers Comes Home," *Toronto Star Weekly*, 20 Feb. 1926; as quoted in *Mary Riter Hamilton*, p. 12.

[175] Besides the 1929 visit, he may have come west again in the early 1930s. See Carol Moore-Ede Myers, "Homer Watson, (1855-1936)," in *Lives and Works of the Canadian Artists*, ser. ed. R.H. Stacey (Toronto: Dundern Press, n.d.), n. pag. This publication states that Watson's first trip to the Rockies was in 1921, but does not provide documentation. Also see *Homer Watson, 1855-1936*, exhibition catalogue, text by J. Russell Harper (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1963), n. pag.

[176] See *James Kerr-Lawson, A Canadian Abroad*, exhibition catalogue, text by Robert J. Lamb (Windsor: Art Gallery of Windsor, 1983).

[177] Quoted in Moore-Ede Myers, n. pag.

[178] See Appendix II, in Pringle, "Artists of the C.P.R," MS. Watson's name appears in a list of now missing correspondence of Van Horne. The subject of the Watson/Van Horne correspondence is "Passes."

[179] *Toronto Directory*, 1893; as quoted in *J.W. Beatty, 1869-1941*, exhibition catalogue, text by Dorothy M. Farr (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1981), p. 16. Besides this training, Farr states that it is generally accepted that Beatty studied with, at least briefly, J.W.L. Forster, William Cruikshank and George Reid, all of whom were associated with the Central Ontario School of Art and Design. (*J.W. Beatty*, p. 16).

[180] For affiliation of the two academies, see *Saturday Night* [Toronto], 18 Feb. 1893. Further periods in Europe between 1906 and 1908 included study at the Chelsea Polytechnic with Ernest Borough Johnson.

[181] Hoover, p. 10. The relationship to photography of Corot's flattened and blurred forms has been noted in Scharf, pp. 90-2.

[182] *J.W. Beatty*, p. 28.

[183] MacTavish, p. 123. See also J.W. Beatty, "A Canadian Painter and His Work," *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1906, p. 546; as quoted in *J.W. Beatty*, p. 44.

[184] *J.W. Beatty*, p. 28. Contrary to some sources, C.W. Jefferys, although his work was later exhibited with Beatty's and Jackson's in the Canadian Northern Railway Building, did not accompany them on the trip. Rather, the work shown was likely from sketches done in 1910-11. (Letter from Robert Stacey, C.W. Jefferys Archives, Toronto, 25 Nov. 1985).

185 Jackson, A Painter's Country, p. 37.

186 A.Y. Jackson; as quoted in Naomi Jackson Groves, A.Y.'s Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1968), p. 148.

187 Catalogue of Paintings of Scenes Along the Line of the Canadian Northern Railway, by the following prominent Canadian Artists: J.W. Beatty, R.C.A., C.W. Jefferys, A.R.C.A., A.Y. Jackson, A.R.C.A., Exhibited in The Canadian National Exhibition, 1914. (With gratitude to Robert Stacey, C.W. Jefferys Estate Archives, Toronto, for the photocopy of this catalogue).

188 A.Y. Jackson, Letter to J.E.H. Macdonald, 5 Oct. 1914; as quoted in J.W. Beatty, p. 30. As has been noted, Bell-Smith, too, was painting along the Yellowhead Pass route in 1914. He apparently travelled on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, possibly on a free pass. (Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith, p. 32).

189 See n. 187.

190 Jackson, A Painter's Country, p. 37.

191 Ibid., p. 19.

192 The Group of Seven, exhibition catalogue, text by Dennis Reid (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1970), p. 24.

193 A.Y. Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," Canadian Forum 5, No. 52 (Jan. 1925), p. 114.

194 A.Y. Jackson, Letter to Lawren Harris; as quoted in F.B. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement, the Story of the Group of Seven (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), p. 79.

195 Groves, p. 148.

196 Jackson also, as he had in previous years, exhibited landscape paintings in the Canadian National Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts. See Canadian National Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts, Toronto, Aug. 28-Sept. 13, 1915.

197 Jackson, A Painter's Country, p. 37.

198 Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," p. 112.

199 A.Y. Jackson; as quoted in Groves, p. 148. Jackson believed that the painting on top is October, Algoma, in Hart House, Toronto.

200 Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," p. 114.

[201] Roald Nasgaard, The Mystic North (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 164.

[202] Taped interview with W.P. Weston, by Nicholas Tuele, Vancouver, 29 Nov. 1967; as quoted in Thom, p. 123.

[203] A.Y. Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," Canadian Forum, Jan. 1925.

[204] Thomas W. Fripp, autobiographical article, p. 12.

Chapter V

ARTISTS WHO LIVED NEAR THE MOUNTAINS: PROFESSIONAL PAINTERS AND ARTIST/TEACHERS

Introduction

The artists who actually lived in the province and painted in the Rockies before 1924 tend to fall into two groups: professional painters who lived among the mountains or foothills and artist/teachers who were the earliest art educators in the province. The first professional artists to live in the province and paint full time as a means of livelihood arrived near the end of the period under study. They settled in Banff and Cochrane, in the foothills west ~~of Calgary~~, and had come from Germany, the United States and Great Britain.

Although Carl Rungius lived in Banff for only five months each year, the Rocky Mountains became central to his work and he returned for many years. For this reason, his inclusion in this chapter as a resident artist seems justified. It also seems appropriate to include Roland Gissing, who was just establishing himself as a painter in the early 1920s. His highly popular depictions of the Rockies and foothills, in an unchanging style apparently unaffected by awareness of modernism, exemplify a naturalism which was representative of an earlier period. Although A.C. Leighton, who first arrived in the province in 1925, is officially excluded from the study, his influence was such that occasional references to him are inevitable and necessary.

Since the arrival of the C.P.R. and subsequent erection of the Banff Springs Hotel in the late 1880s, Banff has been a mecca for both alpine climbers and more sedentary tourists. Although there was little in the way of a professional artists' community during the period, the lure of the Rockies meant that painters frequently visited the area during the summer months. As outlined in Chapter III, those from central Canada and the United States often travelled on free passes from the C.P.R. A few, such as Frederic Bell-Smith, came repeatedly. From time to time, exhibitions of the work of these painters, as well as the resident artists, were held at the Banff Springs Hotel.

For the artist/teachers of Calgary and Edmonton before World War I, there was also little artistic community. In both cities, where the populations were about 72,000 in 1914, the early stage of settlement did not accommodate a real interest in the visual arts. In the local newspapers "the visual arts were reported usually very briefly, and consigned to the women's page, reinforcing the pioneer attitude that paintings were of interest to women to a much greater degree than to men."[1] The 'Art Departments' of the Calgary and Edmonton exhibitions were the only consistent exhibiting spaces for artists although exhibitions were organized by the early art associations and were occasionally sponsored by Alexander Calhoun, the librarian of the Calgary Public Library. Unlike the situation in Vancouver, urban Alberta seems to have enjoyed little contact with artists from central Canada. As mentioned, T. Mower Martin exhibited his work in Vancouver fairly regularly by 1903 and Bell-Smith was also known in the city. As for the local collections in Edmonton and Calgary, it is likely that for a young aspiring artist, the situation in Edmonton was similar to Calgary where "few . . . had access to the Edwardian collections of the local baronry."[2] There was neither strong public interest in the work of local artists in Calgary or Edmonton nor much concern among resident artists for experimentation or absorbing the new work that was illustrated in art magazines or occasionally exhibited locally. The 1909 Calgary Exhibition, for example, hosted an important exhibition which included current work of Maurice Cullen.[3] The poor situation for artists did not change after the war when, as Jim Nicoll has pointed out, "our troops came out of World War I untouched by either Marxism or Post-Impressionism."[4] British institutions, political and cultural, were established by this period and it appears that artists trained in Britain were more readily accepted in both cities. Frances Klingle states that paintings sent out by the R.C.A. during the 1920s tended to perpetuate the British landscape tradition.[5] Most of the artist/teachers to be discussed had come from England or Scotland and a large percentage of the Calgary and Edmonton populations had come directly or indirectly from Great Britain.

Calgary seems to have developed a larger and more influential early support for the arts than Edmonton. Besides the sponsorship of the 1909 loan exhibition, support for the Calgary Art Association, established in 1911, is apparent. At least 150 people attended the first meeting which had been called due to the impetus provided by Mrs. Roland Winter, an early Calgary patron of the arts. However, such supporters represented a small segment of society. As the Art Supervisor for the public schools stated in 1912, "Art is comparatively rare in this west. The interest is confined within a comparatively small circle."[6]

The Calgary Art Association does not appear to have continued beyond 1912 and it was not until 1922 that a permanent association, the Calgary Art Club, was formed. After the Art Association, the next significant local activity involving the visual arts in the city was a 1921 Group of Seven exhibition, organized by the Calgary Local Council of Women. The exhibition had already been shown in Edmonton a few weeks earlier. On this occasion, it was Edmonton, and specifically the University of Alberta's Women's Club and a professor, James Adam, who initiated the loan of paintings to the province.

In Edmonton, as in Calgary, the earliest art association was formed in 1911. This was the Edmonton branch of the Women's Art Association.[7] The group seems to have had little local support. When they exhibited their work in the Edmonton Exhibition of 1912, they were provided with only a tent, while a loan exhibition from local collections was shown in the new Manufacturers Building.[8]

That, as Klingle states, the most highly praised paintings in the 1912 loan exhibition were British, is a further reminder of the strongly British outlook in the province at that time.[9] Another loan exhibition was held in 1913 which included the work of 60 members of the O.S.A.[10] Among them, quite likely, were Rocky Mountain paintings by Bell-Smith, who continued visiting the West up until the First World War. Another art association was established in the city in 1914. According to a 1927 article by Maude Bowman, Curator of the Edmonton Museum of Arts, the Edmonton Art Association was organized that year and was headed by R.W. Hedley, Art Supervisor in the public schools. The group provided art instruction, mainly to school teachers,[11] and in 1918 it held an ambitious exhibition which included paintings from the National Gallery of Canada. In 1921, a further exhibition featured the Group of Seven and woodcut prints by Walter J. Phillips.[12] This first exhibition of the Group's work in Alberta had been seen earlier in the month at the University of Alberta. Its Calgary appearance has been mentioned. The following year the Edmonton Art Club was established, followed by the Museum of Arts two years later.

As has been seen in the previous chapters, visiting artists who painted in the Rockies during the period only infrequently exhibited their work in the province. Edmonton, with its greater distance from the mountains, seldom saw Rocky Mountain landscapes by professional artists. In Calgary probably the best known paintings of the subject hung for years in the Palliser Hotel: *The Three Sisters* (Plate 27) by John Hammond and George Horne Russell's *Kicking Horse Pass* (Plate 29). Even in the first extensive loan exhibition in the province in 1909, which included 113 paintings by well known Canadian painters, only one Rocky Mountain subject appears to have been included. The artist, predictably, was Frederic Bell-Smith.[13] The 1912 exhibition of work by Mary Riter Hamilton, arranged by the Calgary Art Association, included several Rocky Mountain paintings, as did Leonard Davis' 1917 exhibition. On a more bizarre note, suggesting the enduring attraction of the subject, the 1917 Calgary Exhibition included a Rocky Mountain panorama, of the type seen in the nineteenth century. Considered to be the "best of all" the exhibits, the C.P.R. presentation consisted of a moving landscape which revealed "the magical beauty of the Bow Valley, Lake Louise, Mount Stephen and Field and the glories of Canada's splendid harbour, beautiful Victoria."[14]

Finding paintings by artists who have been largely forgotten has been difficult. Therefore, sometimes only one painting, and that perhaps not really representative, is all that is available as an example of an artist's work. For this reason also, paintings dated after 1923 have had to be used where earlier works could not be found.

The Artists

It seems almost certain that the earliest professional artist to settle in the province (although for only part of the year) was Carl Rungius (1869-1959). An animal painter who excelled in landscape painting, Rungius painted in the Canadian Rockies for almost 50 years. From the time he arrived in Banff in 1910, for the rest of his career, according to a recent article by Jon Whyte, animals and the landscape constituted 90 percent of the subject matter of his work.[15] The fact that he has been little known in Canada (his work was first exhibited in Canada in 1930)[16] is partly due to the lack of recognition "of certain emigré artists in the West" by eastern Canadian art bodies.[17] Like Remington's, Verner's and Innes', Rungius' subject matter was the disappearing West. In Rungius' case, however, the West was represented by the game animals, which were threatened with extinction, and their gradually diminishing wilderness haunts.[18] Rungius painted a wide range of areas in the Rockies. Even during his first summer there, in 1910, he travelled by pack train from Lake Louise to the headwaters of the Brazeau River.

Rungius was born in Germany. Of interest is the fact that his family library contained such translated works as James Fenimore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans,[19] which reveals a concern with the threatened American wilderness of the mid-nineteenth century. His early interest in animal drawing lead to training at the Berlin Kunstschule before attendance at the Kunstakademie, where he studied with Paul Meyerheim, a portrait, genre and animal painter.

In 1894, an uncle who lived in New York invited Rungius to hunt moose in Maine, an invitation which Rungius took up and from which resulted his decision to emigrate to the United States in 1897. During his early period in North America, he hunted among the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming. He soon wrote that his "heart was in the West."[20] His interest in mountains at that time focused on the likelihood of their being inhabited by game animals; he began then his practice of sketching animals, after he had killed them, by stringing them up with wires and ropes in life-like positions.

In 1895, William Hornaday, director of the New York Zoological Society and a member of the influential sportsman/conservationist movement, saw a painting of a moose head by Rungius in Knoedler's New York galleries and soon became an important patron of the young artist. For sportsmen conservationists like Hornaday "the pursuit of wildlife . . . spawned a commitment to its perpetuation."[21] The Boone and Crockett Club, (named after two well known hunters), which both Rungius (in 1927) and Belmore Browne were to join, was one of the most powerful forces in the conservation movement. Paradoxically, a man could not gain full status as a Club member until he had killed at least three varieties of wild game. It is with this background in mind that one reads of Hornaday's 1907 description of the effects of the Canadian Rocky Mountains where he had recently hunted. It suggests that even hunters were not immune to perceptions of the sublimity of mountains. The "mystic spell of the Mountains," Hornaday wrote, can cause one "to feel so awed by the panorama of the world that you lose half your desire to find killable game, and for a few hours cease to be a predatory animal."[22]

During these years Rungius worked mainly as an illustrator for sporting magazines and books on hunting and wildlife. Unlike Remington, whose work featured the life of the West and was illustrated in general circulation magazines such as Harper's, Rungius' wildlife paintings appealed to a more restricted audience. After his arrival in Alberta, he also did posters and illustrations for the C.P.R.[23]

Rungius' role as a painter of the disappearing West is exemplified by the 1912 commission by the New York Zoological Society of a series of large paintings of endangered animals. A few years before, Frederic Remington, considering himself a fellow recorder of the Old West, wrote to him. "There is not likely to be another fellow," Remington wrote, "who will have the opportunity to study big game as you are doing, and I think records of us fellows who are doing the 'Old America' which is so fast passing will have an audience in posterity. . . ."[24]

Although he remained a naturalist painter, Rungius made changes in his work and also experimented with the use of colour to indicate space and volume. A recent article has pointed out that the relatively dark palette and traditional glazing techniques of his early work had given way, by 1905, to heavier, more textured canvas, lighter colours and looser brush strokes.[25] However, he apparently did not view modern art favourably; J.E.H. Macdonald recalled that in 1925 his opinion of modern artists was that "they were all Bolsheviks."[26] That restrictions were placed on him by his eastern American patrons is revealed in a 1925 letter from Hornaday, who objected to his use of freer brush strokes and accused him of being "an out-and-out impressionist."[27]

Rungius' preliminary aids in the preparation of paintings included landscape and animal sketches, photographs, and dead game strung up in the previously described manner. He does not seem to have relied heavily on photographs. Like Verner, Rungius would paint landscape sketches for later use as background. He once wrote of the dangers of putting animals in the wrong setting such as "an elk with growing antlers among falling leaves."[28] By 1926, he sometimes employed a system for the proportioning of areas known as 'dynamic symmetry'.[29]

Rungius' 1910 visit to Banff came at the invitation of Jimmy Simpson, well known trapper and guide in the area. Simpson had seen an illustration by Rungius in the New York Zoological Society Bulletin and had written the painter and offered to be his guide if he would come to Banff for hunting and sketching. Rungius arrived in early August,[30] having been provided with free passes on the C.P.R.[31] This seems to have been the first of many trips he took on such passes. One year, it appears from correspondence, he had some hesitation in approaching the company and decided that he should "not attempt to get passes and pay like a good little man."[32] However, by the next year he had managed to arrange for a free pass with John Murray Gibbon, publicity officer for the company, in exchange for "a sheep picture."[33]

Like his patron, Hornaday, Rungius seems to have reacted to the power of the Canadian Rocky Mountains. In an undated article, apparently from this period, he remarked that,

> for years [I have done] nothing but animals. . . . But in these last few months I have become tremendously interested in landscape work. There is no denying the fact that out there on the hills, among the great glaciers and the snow-capped mountains, the most magnificent animal seems small compared with the mighty nature that cradles him. . . .[34]

As a painter, Rungius reacted to the nature of light in the Rockies which was unlike that of previous areas he had painted. Like Remington before him, he wanted to be accepted as a landscape painter. In 1912, he began to exhibit paintings whose titles suggest they were pure landscapes; the predominant subject was the Canadian Rockies.[35]

Compared to earlier work, Rungius' depictions of mountains after his 1910 arrival in Banff reveal a more direct approach and employ angular forms to stress their monumentality. Unlike most painters of the Rockies during the period under consideration, Rungius often depicted high areas. Unfortuantely, his landscape paintings are usually undated and it is difficult to ascertain which were done before 1924. The changes in Rungius' treatment of mountain landscape in animal paintings are suggested by the two paintings, Three Rams (Plate 53) of 1911, and White Mountain Goats (Plate 54) of 1919, both in the Glenbow Museum. Both works are set high up in the alpine zone. In Three Rams, the animals are the focus of the picture, with the landscape arranged around them like a diorama. The mountain cliff and foreground areas tend to be treated in a generalized way, and the palette is subdued. In White Mountain Goats, one of the large works for "The Gallery of Wild Animals," the animals seem united with the landscape. The mountains are given a strong, angularized treatment and no longer serve merely as backgrounds for the animals. The tones of the mountain on which the goats stand, identified by Whyte and Hart as Mount Athasbasca, seem to be reflected in the animals whose textures are also echoed in the mountains around them. Regardless of the fact that Rungius was working under constraints, such as the obligatory display of the whole animal, including the feet, he has produced a work which portrays the majesty of the mountain goat and a sense of its oneness with the high alpine areas which it inhabits.

For Belmore Browne (1880-1954), as for Rungius, the Rocky Mountains represented more than merely a compelling sketching ground. He came to know many of their areas and ranges, spending weeks at a time hiking among them. He first visited the area in 1905, it appears, and made his home in Banff in 1921 for about seven years and during the summer months for many years after that.[36] The Rockies represented the primary subject matter in his painting.

Browne lived in New York until 1883 when his father took his family for an extended trip to Europe. Boyhood summers spent in Switzerland have been suggested as the source of his love of mountains. As a young man, Browne lived on the west coast where he worked for his father in the lumber industry. There, he learned about living in the wilderness--riding, fishing, hunting, boating and mountaineering in the Cascade and Olympic mountains. In 1898, he returned to New York and attended the Chase Art School (later known as the New York School of Art), recently established by William Merritt Chase (1849-1916).[37] Chase had taught at the Art Students' League, where he had become known for his rejection of strict drawing instruction in favour of drawing on canvas with the brush.[38] According to diaries of Mrs. Belmore Browne, her husband spent four years at the Chase Art School, studying with George H. Clements, a landscape and genre painter, who was also a family friend.[39] His other instructors included Chase, William DuMond, and J. Carol Beckwith.[40] Besides this study, he spent a few months at the Académie Julian in Paris during 1908.[41]

Browne's love of wilderness and, particularly, high mountains, seems to have become established during his twenties, when on at least two occasions beginning in 1902, he visited Alaska as a hunter, preparator of specimens and artist.[42] Between 1906 and 1912, he was involved in several attempts to climb Mt. McKinley, the highest mountain in Alaska. His 1913 publication, The Conquest of Mt. McKinley, recounts the decision, made near the summit during the last attempt, to turn back, due to the force of the wind and snow.[43] Besides his Alaskan expeditions and many years in the Canadian Rockies, Browne worked as an advisor on wilderness survival for the American and British armies during the Second World War.

Like Rungius, Browne was involved in the American conservationist movement, although he played a more active part and displayed more of a commitment to conservationist philosophy than Rungius. In 1916, as a member of the conservation committee of the Camp Fire Club (of which

Rungius was also a member), Browne was instrumental in the establishment of Mt. McKinley National Park.[44] Although he was active in the conservation movement and its attempts to preserve wild animals and their habitats, Browne does not seem to have regarded himself as a painter of the 'Old West' with a desire to preserve through his painting the disappearing western life and landscape.

Like Rungius, Browne worked as an illustrator. Calendars and sporting magazines as well as Collier's Weekly (a frequent employer of Remington) were illustrated by him. He also wrote articles on mountain climbing and wrote and illustrated books for boys as well as the already-mentioned The Conquest of Mt. McKinley. After his move to Banff, he provided illustrations for C.P.R. publications, such as covers for timetables, in return for free passes.[45] He also painted dioramas for museums such as the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History and, along with Rungius in 1939, the American Museum of Natural History. Although during the 1930s he directed the Santa Barbara School of Fine Arts, he maintained his connections with Banff, living there between July and September.[46] After the war he had a studio at Seebe, on the Kananaskis River, which he apparently used during the summer months.

Browne's artistic associations and his markets, like Rungius', were mainly in the eastern United States. He apparently exhibited with the National Academy of Design in the mid-1910s[47] and during the 1920s, held occasional exhibitions in New York and Boston. The Macbeth Gallery, New York, which also sold western works by Remington, held at least two one-man exhibitions of his work, in 1923 and 1928. The latter was titled "The Canadian Rockies," revealing Browne's concentration on Rocky Mountain landscapes after he moved to Banff in 1921.[48] In 1926, Catherine Robb (later Whyte) wrote of seeing Browne's "oils of the Canadian Rockies" in a Boston gallery.[49]

Browne became part of the small artistic community of Banff which developed well before the time of the Banff Summer School. He taught art classes during the 1920s with Norah Drummond-Davis.[50] In 1928, the painter, Peter Whyte (1905-1966), described Browne as an early source of encouragement.[51] In 1925, at least, Browne painted in the mountains with Rungius. Whyte and Hart suggest that they were working "on sketches to give the C.P.R. in return for [railway] passes."[52]

Browne's subject matter, as Lorne Render has written, differs from Rungius' in that "he generally concentrated on panorama, and only very seldom on specific detail."[53] Also, unlike Rungius, he did not often paint in the upper alpine areas, although he loved 'the high places' and could evoke that love in his writing. His paintings sometimes possess a fine clarity of light. Although he seems to have sometimes adopted a similar palette and brush stroke to Rungius, he adhered to a naturalistic representation of the landscape which included a seemingly traditional view of what an alpine composition should constitute. He was not an experimental painter; he advised that "almost all colours eminate [sic] from greys. . . ."[54] Little information is available regarding his working methods. Although he usually sketched in the summer and worked up his paintings in the winter, his winter paintings reveal that he also made sketches during that season. That he loved the aesthetic experience related to painting in the mountains is suggested by both his paintings and his writings. His literary descriptions sometimes vie with his visual descriptions in the feelings they evoke such as when he wrote of the thrill of standing "in Nature's laboratory watching the cloud forms in their making, the bull moose with head submerged groping the floor of a sapphire lake and other forms and colors bewildering in their numbers and beauty."[55] A painting which was likely executed in the early 1920s is Mt. Rundle, Banff (Plate 55), in the Glenbow Museum. It illustrates Browne's emphasis on naturalistic concerns. The clarity of light and the concentration on the massive proportions and details of Mt. Rundle contribute to the effect of this otherwise traditional painting. Mt. Rundle portrays Browne's competent draughtsmanship and careful technique. Precise depiction of mountain details such as striation and flora are a reminder of his first hand knowledge of the alpine landscape.

Another early Banff artist was Norah Drummond-Davis (1862-1949) who came from Great Britain about 1919. A 1921 article refers to her as having "made her home in Banff for the past couple of years."[56] By 1921, she had painted two series of large paintings for local venues--one of game animals and the other of historical Canadian scenes.[57] Some of these included the Rockies as background. She also painted smaller works of similar subjects for western Canadian buyers and sent works to England to become illustrations for calendars and post cards.

Information about Drummond-Davis (she signed her work N. Drummond) derives mainly from newspaper articles. Irish-born, she was apparently sent out by a British firm, Raphael Tuck, whom she was expected to supply with paintings of the game animals of the West for use as illustrations.[58] It is not known if she travelled on a free pass from the C.P.R. when she came to Banff. She was financially strapped during her approximately eight years there and was sometimes assisted by local residents, although she was regarded as eccentric and did not seem to be close to the Banff community. Part of this reputation seems to relate to her practice of using her Airdale dogs on shopping trips to pull a wagon or sled. She lived in a shack just outside the townsite until about 1925, when she moved to Victoria, B.C. By that year, she was exhibiting with the Island Arts and Crafts Society and in the early 1930s she taught art for it.[59] Drummond-Davis had apparently worked as an animal illustrator and painter in England. A small work in the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies depicts an awkwardly painted plough horse in a pastoral setting with soft diffused light and romantic mood. Her painting obviously changed after her arrival in Canada, becoming bolder with looser brush strokes. This change would have been partly due to the demands of her subject matter and likely to the influence of Rungius who was well known by the time of her arrival. One of the series of large works was in the Mount Royal Hotel, and was destroyed when the hotel burnt down in 1967. H.G. Glyde, the Alberta painter and educator, recalls the paintings as being "sombre with heavy greens," and as indicating the artist's great interest in animals but also as tending to be stiff without capturing the atmosphere of the area.[60] The other series, the ten paintings for the Lux Theatre, depicted the means of mail delivery, by canoe, dog team and pack horse, to Hudson's Bay Company forts. The commissioning of large, historical paintings on the theme of transportation is reminiscent of John Innes' work, particularly the exhibition, "Epic of Transportation," of the 1930s.

In 1923, Drummond-Davis apparently organized a sketch club.[61] She also taught art; one of her students was Peter Whyte who became a well known western Canadian painter.[62] Classes, where Belmore Browne also sometimes taught, were held in the evening at the Banff Public School and weekly as part of the public school curriculum.

A large painting in the Kelowna Museum is Grizzly Bears Below Mt. Rundle (Plate 56). The painting originally hung in the Royal Anne Hotel in Kelowna. Photographs reveal that the hotel lobby was hung with typical large paintings of western themes. In the work, Mount Rundle and surrounding snow-covered mountains provide a backdrop for the animals, which are the focus of a carefully arranged scene. The stage-like setting is provided with picturesque props, such as sidescreens of trees, and foreground details of rocks and fallen trees.

A Banff amateur artist who should be mentioned is Jimmy Simpson (1874-1972). An outfitter in Banff, Simpson knew the Rockies well. At the time of his death, it was stated that "there [was] hardly a trail in Banff National Park which he did not blaze originally in a 76-year period spent in the outdoors. . . ."[63] Some of his watercolour landscapes are in the Glenbow Museum. One of them, a collaboration with Rungius, depicts mountain sheep in a high mountain setting.

A painter of the Rocky Mountains who, at the time of his death, was considered "western Canada's most popular landscape painter,"[64] was Roland Gissing (1895-1967). Although no Rocky Mountain paintings by this artist dated before 1924 have been located, he likely sketched in the Rockies by 1920.[65] His paintings of the Rockies, foothills and prairies of Alberta are owned by many early Albertans.

Gissing was born in Gloucestershire, England and was the nephew of the English writer George Gissing.[66] Between 1908 and 1911 he attended George Watson's College in Edinburgh where he likely studied the rudiments of art.[67] In 1913, he emigrated to Canada, coming directly to Alberta. For eight years, he worked mainly as a cowboy, first in Alberta, then in Montana, Arizona, and possibly farther afield, during which time he developed a strong feeling for the West. In Montana he apparently was encouraged by the American painter of the 'Old West', Charles Russell,[68] who had exhibited paintings in the Calgary Exhibition in 1912.[69] During this period he is known often to have sketched figures of western life for the amusement of his companions.

The date of Gissing's permanent return to Alberta is uncertain but seems to have been between 1918 and 1920. He likely worked as a cowboy until 1923, when he acquired his own homestead on the banks of the Ghost River near Cochrane.[70] In the summers he rode into the mountains on sketching trips, which increased as he became able to live off the proceeds from his painting. He seems to have concentrated on oil painting early in his career. In the 1950s, he moved to Okotoks, south of Calgary.

One of his early paintings was a large scene of a buffalo hunt, suggesting that he had considered becoming a painter of the 'Old West', perhaps encouraged by the still lingering popularity of Verner.[71] By 1924, Gissing's correspondence reveals that he had begun "to study art seriously"[72] and that he had been painting long enough to have developed "a portfolio" of sketches.[73] Moreover, he had sold some of his sketches to an Englishman, Captain Mortimer, who had built "a large club house" near his property,[74] and who knew artists like C.W. Jefferys. Jefferys, who had first painted on the prairies in 1907, stayed with Mortimer in 1924[75] and apparently encouraged Gissing to continue to paint.[76]

Gissing gradually developed his painting. His meagre training was to be augmented in the late 1920s by "a few lessons" from Lars Haukaness and A.C. Leighton at the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art.[77] He also held exhibitions in Calgary during the late 1920s.[78] In 1927, his work was compared to that of Leonard Richmond, an English landscape painter who had been on a sketching trip in the province two years earlier and who had encouraged Gissing to paint the mountains.[79] Richmond also published books on watercolour and oil painting and it appears that the sketchy, loose modelling of some of Gissing's paintings may have been influenced by the demonstrations of techniques in Richmond's publication.[80] Like Rungius, Browne and Drummond-Davis, Gissing augmented his income by doing illustrations, turning out Christmas cards, calendars, posters and book illustrations during his career. By the mid-1930s, he was apparently able to live off the earnings of his paintings, probably the only artist in Alberta to do so at that time. His sales were limited to the western provinces but, by the 1940s, he was represented at the Laing Gallery in

Toronto.[81] His outlook towards painting was always conservative and near the end of his life he remarked that "75% of all abstract work is junk. It's art that doesn't make sense."[82]

Early in his career, Gissing apparently turned to romantic landscape subjects devoid of figures. His early work was apparently more expressive than much of his later painting. It appears that this change was caused by customer demands. A critic who visited his studio before 1944 wrote that his work "showed signs of struggle and deeper searching"[83] and about that time, Colgate wrote of his paintings as "clear and soft in their tones and lit by a calm subdued radiance."[84] This more expressive quality in his work is also suggested by extant correspondence from the late 1930s. In 1938, he wrote that a painting of Kicking Horse Canyon in which the mountains were "in an ugly mood, and cold and grey"[85] was "one of my own pictures . . . painted because I had wanted to try to give to others the sombre, mighty almost fearful feeling I had had when I saw it." However, he added bitterly that although the work was praised when it was exhibited, it was still unsold while "many others of the 'gaudy' or 'pretty' type" had been sold.

In order to recover his losses after a studio fire in 1944 which destroyed much of his work, Gissing apparently became more commercial in his outlook. He developed what became formats in his work. One of these consisted of foreground foliage of fairly loose brush strokes, simplified, somewhat flattened trees placed to one side of the foreground and middle distance of prairies or lake or river and background of blue mountains below, blue, cloud-studded or sunset sky.[86] It has been suggested that, for his western Canadian patrons, Gissing's paintings portrayed a view of nature that was less devastating than the reality, particularly that of the 1930s, of life on the prairies. As an Edmonton art critic wrote at the time of his death, his landscapes were without menace and "they ignored the harsher realities of frontier life."[87]

As no dated Rocky Mountain paintings by Gissing from before 1924 have been located, an oil on panel work, dated 1926, will serve as an example of his work. Titled Mountain Landscape (Plate 57), the apparently unfinished sketch in the Glenbow Museum reveals a similar composition to many of Gissing's later mountain scenes. Thus, we see foreground of water and flat land with fairly loose brush strokes, middle distance of flattened trees and more carefully delineated mountains under a clear sky in the background. The painting, likely the result of a summer sketching trip, reveals that Gissing adopted some of his well-known formats early in his career.

Besides the professional painters like Rungius, Browne and Gissing who had a close association with the alpine landscape, other artists living in the province painted in the Rockies. These were the artist/teachers who had arrived to take up the early positions with art associations, school boards and normal schools. There were, of course, no art schools in the province before the 1920s. Some of these artists were fairly well trained and others less so but they shared a conservative outlook and even after the First World War, which had provided some contact with Europe, the predominant attitude seems to have changed little.

In Calgary, one of the artist/teachers was Adeline Baxter (active 1905-1941). Although she apparently lived in Banff in 1911[88] and exhibited Rocky Mountain landscapes in the Winnipeg Exhibition in 1911 and the Manitoba Society of Artists in 1912,[89] no alpine sketches before 1917 have been located. Baxter was born in Scotland and as a small child emigrated with her family to Winnipeg.[90] Her work seems to have been mainly portraits, miniatures and still lifes although by 1911 she had begun summer visits to Banff,[91] one of the earliest Winnipeg artists to do so. In the 1908 Winnipeg Directory she is listed as a school teacher. Some time after this she attended "the Boston School of Fine Art"[92] and in July, 1911, she lived in Banff and exhibited watercolours and pastels in the Calgary Exhibition.[93] In Calgary during September of 1911, Baxter helped form the Calgary Art Association.[94] The main object of the club was "the encouragement of interest in art in the west," both "aesthetic and applied arts."[95] In 1912, the Association provided classes in drawing and painting, the instructors of which were Baxter and E.O. Brooker, Supervisor of Art in the Calgary Public School system.[96]

In April of 1912 the Calgary Art Association held its first, and apparently only, exhibition of members' work. Among the approximately 200 pictures, Baxter's portraiture was praised.[97] Soon after April, when she was still mentioned as one of the association's teachers, Baxter seems to have left the province and returned to Winnipeg. In 1913, she is listed as portrait artist in the Winnipeg Directory and by 1915, as supervisor in drawing for the Winnipeg Public School system. The fact that she exhibited with the R.C.A. in a special 1914 exhibition in Winnipeg may have assisted her in obtaining this position which she apparently held until 1929.[98] She moved to Vancouver Island at some point for by 1925 she was a member of the Island Arts and Crafts Society and exhibited, mainly portraits, it appears, with that group until at least 1944.[99]

A small watercolour, The Three Sisters (Plate 58), from c.1917, in the Glenbow Museum, is the result of one of her summer sketching trips to Banff. Although she was a member of the Alpine Club, Baxter does not seem to have been an ardent climber.[100] The work is a typical mountain scene, viewed from below. The foreground of The Three Sisters consists of a road (rather than a lake or river, seen in many alpine scenes in this study) leading into the work, without any particular foreground interest or use of the framing devices often seen in earlier watercolours. However, it is a typical small, watercolour alpine scene with mountains ranged benignly in the background.

Another early artist/teacher in Calgary was Arthur Hutton (active 1904-c.1960) who taught at the Provincial Normal School in Calgary between 1911 and 1944. In a 1921-22 school publication, Hutton was referred to as an instructor in Industrial Education.[101] Two undated watercolours of Rocky Mountain subjects by him are in the Alberta Art Foundation. They reveal less ability than his later works and therefore probably fit within the period of this study.

Hutton was born in England and attended Birmingham University between 1899 and 1901.[102] His art training appears to have been related to design or commercial art. He emigrated to Canada soon after 1901 and between 1904 and 1909 was Supervisor of Art and Penmanship in the Edmonton Public School system.[103] He also taught art and manual training at high schools in Vancouver and Owen Sound, Ontario and in 1911, began to teach at the Calgary Normal School.[104] Hutton does not seem to have played a part in the early development of art in Calgary. He is not mentioned in newspaper accounts of the formation of the Calgary Art Association in 1911 and 1912. His early painting reflects the draughtsman that he was and has little expressiveness. By the 1930s, he produced some delicate watercolours, including mountain scenes, which suggest that he took advantage of the artistic atmosphere in Calgary which, by the late 1920s, saw the establishment of classes taught by Lars Haukaness and A.C. Leighton. A watercolour in the Alberta Art Foundation Collection, Yamnuska Mountain (Plate 59), reveals the hand of a draughtsman. Picturesque sidescreens of trees provide compositional elements in a topographical work which depicts a rock face well known to climbers.

Reginald Harvey (1888-1973) was another Calgary artist/teacher who, like Baxter and Hutton, had come from Great Britain. Arriving in Canada in 1912, he moved to Calgary in 1917 where he was Supervisor of Art in the public school system from 1922 until 1931.[105] Harvey had trained at Hartley University College, Southhampton, the Yarmouth School of Art and the Regent Street Polytechnic in London.[106] By 1919, he was exhibiting in the Calgary Exhibition,[107] and by the late 1920s, in exhibitions of the O.S.A. and the Art Association of Montreal.[108] Such exhibiting practices may reflect his association with Haukaness and Leighton, with whom he often sketched in the mountains and foothills. Harvey, who was influential in the development of art in Calgary, had recommended Leighton as art teacher at the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology on the death of Haukaness in 1929.[109] Since paintings by Harvey known to be from before 1924 have not been located, a Glenbow Museum watercolour is used as an example of his work. Its stylistic similiarities to the work of Leighton suggest that it was done in the late 1920s or later. River of the Mountain (Plate 60) is a competent and well composed alpine scene with mountains framed by trees. Elements which related to Leighton's style include palette and decorative flattened treatment of trees and mountains.

Another Calgary artist/teacher who likely painted in the Rockies within the period was Leo Earl Pearson (1883-1952). Unlike most early Calgary artists, Pearson's art education had taken place in the United States, at the College of Fine Arts, University of Southern California, and at the Art Students' League in New York. He came to Alberta in 1913 and became an instructor at the Provincial Normal School in Camrose. He also served as instructor at the summer school for teachers at the University of Alberta and, beginning in 1916, at the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art. Thus, the artist/teachers--from the Art Association, the Normal School and the public school systems--were the earliest of the artists who settled in Calgary and painted in the Rockies. As there was not sufficient support for professional artists in the city it was necessary for them to work as teachers.

In Edmonton, a similar situation existed. A British-born artist/teacher who painted in the Rockies during the period is William

Johnstone (?-1927). Johnstone came to Edmonton in 1912 from Edinburgh where he had apparently studied art at Watson's College, the same school that Gissing attended. In the Edmonton Exhibition of the following year, he exhibited etchings which included landscape subjects.[110] Some of the etchings were accompanied by the copper plate, thus illustrating the "process of producing prints."[111] Johnstone does not seem to have worked as a printmaker for long after his arrival in Edmonton. Although he exhibited etchings in the 1923 Art Club exhibition, the titles almost all suggest Scottish or European subjects. The 1914 Edmonton Directory lists Johnstone as an art teacher and intermittently thereafter as an "artist." He taught art at the Edmonton Technical School, at the high school at Wetaskiwin,[112] and in his own studio. For many years he exhibited in the Edmonton Exhibition, often winning prizes for his portraits and landscapes in watercolour and oil.[113] He was a founding member of the Edmonton Art Club whose first annual exhibition in April, 1922, included at least seven Rocky Mountains works by him from the Jasper and Yoho National parks.[114]

Although Johnstone was known to have painted frequently in the mountains during the summer months, no works before 1924 have been located.[115] A watercolour in the University Collections, University of Alberta, is Mt. Robson (Plate 61), dated 1924. It is possibly the work of the same title exhibited in the 1925 exhibition of the club. Prices in the catalogue suggest that this was the least accomplished of Johnstone's submissions.[116] The well composed watercolour view of Mt. Robson reveals the careful draughtsmanship of Johnstone's printmaking background. The by now well known format of body of water leading into the composition, backed by mountains, is depicted with limited hues.

Another early artist/teacher in Edmonton whose early paintings of the Rockies have not been located, was J. Gordon Sinclair (1889-1980). Sinclair took private lessons from William Johnstone between 1913 and 1918 and was art instructor at the Edmonton Technical School between 1919 and 1941. He was secretary of the Edmonton Art Association and a founding member of the Edmonton Art Club in whose first exhibition he showed at least one watercolour of a Rocky Mountain subject. Victor Reid (1879-1936), who was a school principal in Edmonton for periods between 1914 and 1919 at least,[117] and likely taught art, also exhibited mountain paintings in the 1922 Edmonton Art Club exhibition. Like Johnstone, he had exhibited in the Edmonton Art Association's large exhibition in 1918 when his work was referred to as "decidedly different in technique."[118] He taught art at Mount Royal College in Calgary during the mid 1920s and left the province in 1927.[119]

An early amateur painter in Edmonton who did not teach art was Robert Campbell (1883-1967). Although he likely painted in the Rockies before 1924, most of his Rocky Mountain paintings date from a later period. Campbell came from Scotland where he had studied for two sessions at the Dumbarton Academy Art Class.[120] Soon after his arrival in the province in 1906 he began homesteading at Minburn, east of Edmonton. While in England during the First World War, Campbell took lessons from Victor W. Burnand, an English portrait and landscape painter who had studied at the Royal College of Art. On his return to

Canada, he lived in Edmonton where he worked as a plasterer and dental technician, and painted in his spare time. In 1919, he began to exhibit paintings and drawings in the Edmonton Exhibition[121] and in 1922, like William Johnstone and J. Gordon Sinclair, he was a founding member of the Edmonton Art Club. Later, he became a sketching partner of A.C. Leighton; and some of his later watercolours bear the unmistakable influence of that Anglo-Canadian watercolourist.[122] A watercolour of a Rocky Mountain subject which is likely to date from the period, is The Bridge, Athabasca Falls (Plate 62), in a private collection. A small watercolour, like many of Campbell's works, it reveals a soft wash treatment of the mountains without the staged feeling frequently alluded to in this study. Cool greens and the white of the paper showing through lend charm to the work.

Alban Cartmell (1871-1957), who arrived in Edmonton from England in 1923,[123] likely painted in the Rockies. However, he preferred atmospheric snow scenes. Titles of works by him in the Edmonton Art Club exhibition of 1925 do not suggest alpine subjects.

Summary

As outlined in this chapter, the first painters of the Rockies who settled in the province, were naturalist painters with a suspicion of trends in modern art. Rungius and Browne produced paintings of the mountains and the animals which inhabited them for a conservative eastern American clientele. That some of Rungius' attempts to paint in a freer manner were rebuffed by his most important patron has been revealed in correspondence. Gissing, too, worked under the constraints of a conservative public in Alberta, although the period of his popularity is beyond the time frame of this study. The painting of Drummond-Davis, who came to the province with commitments to paint animals for later illustration in England, also remained well within the bounds of naturalism. Thus, these artists may be seen as naturalist painters whose clientele demanded such representations. Although Rungius continued to live in New York for parts of the year, he, like Browne, was not part of the experimental groups of painters in New York. Neither painter is known to have belonged to artistic organizations which pursued new directions in art. In fact, they were more likely to belong to conservationist or hunting organizations.

For the mainly British artist/teachers, the Rockies with their sublime and picturesque associations, would have been a compelling subject. Most of these artists had limited training as painters but were familiar with English watercolour styles. Klingle states that R.C.A. exhibitions in the province during the period also reinforced the British landscape tradition.[124] The presence of these artist/teachers, with their background of English watercolour painting, and the arrival of A.C. Leighton in the late 1920s meant that the Rockies continued to be portrayed in a romantic English watercolour style well into the 1930s.

The Banff painters also shared the fact that significant parts of their careers were spent as illustrators. Both Rungius and Browne produced illustrations for sporting magazines and books and both produced illustrative material for the C.P.R. Drummond-Davis was sent from Great Britain as an animal illustrator of calendars, post cards and similar material. Gissing produced calendars, Christmas cards and posters during his career. Thus, images of the Canadian Rockies continued to be widely disseminated.

These artists shared a love of the mountains and a familiarity with their terrain which could not be experienced by most previous painters. After living in the Rockies, Rungius turned more attention to landscape painting. Browne made clear his feeling for the Rockies in his painting and writing. Both he and Rungius seem to have felt an enduring attraction to the Rocky Mountains as romantic subject. This attraction is emphasized by the fact that they both lived in Banff for long periods even though there was no artistic community there. It was not until 1933 that A.C. Leighton first began to teach students at Seebe, near Banff.

The Banff artists saw the Rocky Mountain landscape not only as a compelling landscape subject but also as the habitat of the wild game that they painted and sometimes killed. Like Drummond-Davis, Rungius was for much of his career primarily an animal painter. Belmore Browne, in his illustrative work, often painted animals of alpine regions. Both Rungius and Browne had been hunters before they arrived in Banff. Rungius had originally come to North America as a hunter and, throughout most of his career, to him the lure of the mountains included the thrill of killing animals under dangerous circumstances. It might be suggested that he was a consumer as well as a painter of the Canadian alpine landscape. Both painters were closely connected to the powerful conservationist movement in the United States, as today the animal painter, Robert Batemen is a supporter of the Canadian movement. Rungius was supported by the movement and Browne was an active participant and worked towards the establishment of national parks in the United States. Neither hunting nor painting of animals was a real concern of Roland Gissing. It is likely, however, that had there been a conservation movement in western Canada, he would have been an avid supporter for he had a strong affection for the landscape in which he lived for much of his life.

The role of the railways, in particular, the C.P.R., in assisting artists to reach the Rocky Mountains is evident here as it is throughout the period. Both Rungius and Browne travelled on C.P.R. passes. The availability of free passes for artists and others who might promote the railway was well known in Banff. Jimmy Simpson likely obtained a pass for Rungius in 1910 and it is known that Rungius soon caught on to the practice of requesting passes from the company.

The painting of these early artists does not seem to have influenced later Alberta painters. Rungius and Browne's connection with the eastern United States has been outlined. Beginning in 1921, the landscape paintings of central Canada by the Group of Seven gradually became known and accepted in the province. As mentioned, an exhibition of their work was shown in both Edmonton and Calgary in 1921 and such exhibitions continued intermittently during the decade.[125] The 1924 arrival of Group members in the Rockies has been noted. Later, the establishment of the art department at the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art under Lars Haukaness, followed by A.C. Leighton, made Calgary the centre of professional art instruction by the late 1920s. Leighton's presence, with his highly competent English watercolour technique and strong convictions, continued the acceptance among certain artists of the British landscape tradition. Thus, other and stronger influences were at work in the province. Although he was initially influenced by A.C. Leighton, Gissing seems to have worked in stylistic isolation from other professional Alberta artists during his long career. He did not consistently incorporate into his work a sense of expressive colour or design, but continued the tradition of the naturalistic landscape view, a kind of 'prettified' Alberta landscape. His "pot-boilers" and popular paintings contributed to the fact that eventually many artists came to consider Rocky Mountain paintings as a cliché.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter V

[1] Frances Henderson Klingle, "Under the Chinook Arch: The Influence of the Group of Seven on Alberta Landscape Painting Between 1920 and 1960," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Alberta, 1985, p. 46.

[2] J. McL. Nicoll, "Alberta hangs up its chaps," in Allied Arts Council Catalogue, Jubilee Exhibition, June 19-Sept. 19, 1955, p. 4.

[3] "Oil and Water Color Paintings by Canadian Artists," in Catalogue of Loan Collection of Paintings, The Art Gallery, Calgary Provincial Exhibition, July 5-8, 1909. The exhibition also included over 100 paintings in two other sections: "Masters of the Continental Schools of Painters" and "Work of Prominent Artists of the English, French and Italian Schools of Art." The exhibition, along with its accompanying catalogue, had apparently been exhibited at the Winnipeg Exhibition prior to its showing in Calgary. (See Joan Murray, The Last Buffalo [Toronto: Pagurian, 1984], p. 175, which cites numbers and titles of Verner's submissions to the Winnipeg Exhibition which are identical to those in the Calgary Exhibition).

[4] J. McL. Nicoll, p. 4.

[5] Klingle, p. 71.

[6] "Art in our public schools," Calgary Albertan, 13 Sept. 1911; as quoted in Klingle, p. 44.

[7] See "Women's Art Association," Club Women's Records, 1916, unidentified photocopy, Provincial Archives of Alberta. Instruction offered by the association included watercolour painting, as well as china painting, "modelling," and arts and crafts ("stencil work," hammered brass, leather-tooling and book binding).

[8] "President's address," in Edmonton Exhibition Association, Ltd., 1912, City of Edmonton Archives.

[9] Klingle, p. 48.

[10] Spaces and Places, Eight Decades of Landscape Painting in Alberta, exhibition catalogue, text by Jetske Ironside (Edmonton: Alberta Art Foundation, 1986), p. 7; "Love of Fine Art is shown in Art Gallery at the Exhibition," Edmonton Bulletin, 13 Aug. 1913, p. 4. The artists included Paul Peel, George Reid, J.W.L. Forster, F.H. Brigden, Mary Hester Reid, as well as an etching by Turner. Klingle points out the connection with the Univ. of Alberta, through Professor James Adam, in promoting this exhibition. (p. 48)

[11] Mrs. David Bowman, "First Exhibition of Pictures at Summer Fair Fourteen Years Ago Grown into Permanent Art Museum," *Edmonton Journal*, 30 June 1927.

[12] *Edmonton Art Association*, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Pictures by the Group of Seven, also Lithographs, Etchings, Wood Block Prints, Drawings in Black and White and in Pastel, MacKay Avenue School, March 28-April 1, 1921.

[13] See n. 3. The painting was titled *A Glacier Crowned Monarch of the Rockies*.

[14] "CPR Exhibit one of best of all," *Morning Albertan* [Calgary], 4 July 1917. Besides the moving landscape, presumably oil on a long role of canvas which was unrolled mechanically, the display included stuffed animal heads and "a miniature Bow Falls," also apparently controlled electrically.

[15] Jon Whyte; as quoted in "Carl Rungius, Wilderness painter," *Glenbow*, 5, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1985), p. 20.

[16] Jon Whyte and E.J. Hart, *Carl Rungius, Painter of the Western Wilderness* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, in association with Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver, 1985), p. 139. This presumably refers to the exhibitions of official bodies such as the R.C.A.

[17] Walter J. Phillips, "Carl Rungius," *Winnipeg Tribune*, c.1933; as quoted in *Phillips in Print*, eds. Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Record Society, 1982), p. 105.

[18] Whyte and Hart, p. 4.

[19] *Ibid*., p. 8.

[20] William J. Schaldach, *Carl Rungius, Big Game Hunter* (West Hartford, Vermont: The Countryman Press, 1945), p. 34.

[21] Reiger, John F. *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), pp. 48-9.

[22] Hornaday, William T. *Camp-fires in the Canadian Rockies* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1907), p. 145.

[23] Whyte and Hart, p. 143; E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada, the C.P.R. and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude, 1983), p. 107.

[24] Frederic Remington, Letter to Carl Rungius, 7 May 1908; as quoted in Whyte and Hart, p. 62.

[25] See Eva Smithwick, "Carl Rungius, The Development of an Artist," *Glenbow*, 5, No. 6 (Nov./Dec. 1985), pp. 4-8, for further discussion of Rungius' painting technique.

[26] J.E.H. MacDonald in conversation with Illingworth Kerr; as quoted in Whyte and Hart, p. 116.

[27] W.T. Hornaday, Letter to Carl Rungius, 29 July 1925; as quoted in Whyte and Hart, p. 110.

[28] Carl Rungius, "Seasonal Change in the Form of the Rocky Mountain Sheep," *New York Zoological Society Bulletin*, 16, No. 55, pp. 950-2; as quoted in Whyte and Hart, pp. 86-7.

[29] Whyte and Hart, pp. 170-1; See Jay Hambridge, *Dynamic Symmetry, the Greek Vase* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1920), p. 8. Hambridge had devised the system "through the study of natural form and shape in Greek and Egyptian art." By a series of intersecting lines, an artist could divide up a canvas by these principles, based on the golden section.

[30] *Crag and Canyon* [Banff], 6 Aug. 1910.

[31] Whyte and Hart, p. 82.

[32] Carl Rungius, Letter to Jim Simpson, 29 May 1921, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Archives, Banff.

[33] __________. Letter to Jim Simpson, 27 May 1922, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Archives, Banff.

[34] "How Carl Rungius Combines Art with the Adventures of a Sportsman," unidentified clipping; as quoted in Whyte and Hart, p. 88.

[35] See *National Academy of Design, Winter Exhibition*, New York, catalogues, 1912-1918. In 1913 Rungius was elected Associate of the National Academy and in 1920, full member.

[36] Robert H. Bates, draft of biography of Browne to be published soon, p. 218. This excerpt was kindly sent to the author by Mr. Bates. Also see Author's Note, in Belmore Browne, *The Conquest of Mt. McKinley* (1913; rpt. Cambridge: Riverside, 1956), in which Browne refers to visiting the Canadian Rockies seven years earlier.

[37] Marchal E. Landgren, *Years of Art, The Story of the Art Students' League of New York* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1940), p. 83.

[38] *Ibid*.

[39] "B's Life," excerpts from Mrs. Belmore Browne's diaries, edited by her daughter, Evelyn Browne, 1985, Whyte Museum of the

Canadian Rockies, Archives, Banff. Copies of typescripts of the diaries of Agnes Browne (Mrs. Belmore Browne) between 1912 and 1954 are in the Whyte Museum also.

[40] Bates, p. 11.

[41] Michael S. Kennedy, "Belmore Browne and Alaska," *The Alaska Journal*, 3, No. 2 (Spring 1973), p. 102.

[42] These trips were made under the auspices of The American Museum of Natural History in New York. Sketchbooks from the trips are in the Stephenson Collection, Dartmouth College, New Hamsphire.

[43] Belmore Browne, *The Conquest of Mt. McKinley*; as quoted in John Miles, "Belmore Brown, Persistent Challenger of North America's Big Mountain," *Off Belay*, Oct. 1980. Browne also published an article, with Herschel C. Parker, in the 1911 *Canadian Alpine Journal*.

[44] James B. Trefethen, *Crusade for Wildlife, Highlights in Conservation Progress* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole; New York: Boone and Crockett Club, 1961), pp. 189-90. The colour plates for this publication are by Rungius. Like Rungius, Browne was also a member of the Boone and Crockett Club.

[45] Bates, p. 218.

[46] Bradford Washburn, Introduction, in Browne, *The Conquest of Mt. McKinley*, p. xxviii.

[47] Although "B's Life," p. 229, states that Browne's work was accepted in the "Winter Academy" of 1913 or 1914, his name does not appear in the *National Academy of Design, Winter Exhibition* catalogues between 1912 and 1918.

[48] *The Canadian Rockies*, works by Belmore Browne, Macbeth Gallery, New York, Feb. 14-27, 1928. That he and his family had moved to Banff by 1921 is established by *Crag and Canyon* [Banff], 18 June 1921.

[49] *Peter Whyte, Catherine Robb Whyte Commemorative Portfolio*, ed. Jon Whyte (Banff: The Whyte Foundation, 1980), p. 28.

[50] Dorothy Wardle, "Gifted artist left legacy of paintings," *Calgary Herald*, 29 Sept. 1962.

[51] *Whyte Portfolio*, p. 46. An example of Browne's feelings for the Rocky Mountain landscape is provided by a 1929 address to the Banff Rotary Club in which he lamented that the CPR had built a camp site "right in the middle of the foreground" of the "one supreme picture of Lake O'Hara" by John Singer Sargent. (*Crag and Canyon*, 26 April 1929).

[52] Whyte and Hart, p. 11.

[53] Lorne E. Render, The Mountains and the Sea (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute/McClelland & Stewart West, 1974), p. 175.

[54] Belmore Browne, Letter to Elizabeth [?], n.d., Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Archives, Banff.

[55] Belmore Browne, "Paint brush on the heights," The American Alpine Journal, 4, No. 2 (1941); as quoted in Kennedy, p. 106.

[56] Crag and Canyon [Banff], 28 May 1921, p. 8.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Norah Drummond-Davis, Biographical information, Art Department, Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

[59] "Island Arts and Crafts Exhibitors, 1910-1941," Public Archives of British Columbia. Also see Elizabeth Forbes, "'Little Casino' Left Big Mark in Her Own Way," Victoria Times, 24 Aug. 1966, p. 15.

[60] Letter received from Mr. H.G. Glyde, 23 July 1986.

[61] Crag and Canyon, 19 May 1923, p. 8.

[62] Wardle, "Gifted artist," Whyte Portfolio, p. 29.

[63] Crag and Canyon, 8 Nov. 1972.

[64] Dorothy Barnhouse, "Art admirers mourn death of Roland Gissing," Edmonton Journal, 11 Oct. 1967.

[65] Gissing apparently worked as a "packer" on an oil exploration field trip through the foothills to Jasper in the summer of 1920. (Ken Liddell, "Gissing Self-taught as Lover of Nature," Calgary Herald, 13 Nov. 1954).

[66] Artist's Information Form, [1931?], National Gallery of Canada.

[67] Letter received from F.E. Gerstenberg, Principal, George Watson's College, 21 March 1986. The school at that time provided "a limited amount of art training."

[68] "Ken Liddell's Column," Calgary Herald, 7 Oct. 1967.

[69] Klingle, p. 44.

[70] Roland Gissing, Letter to P.W. Beltz, 28 Mar. 1924, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[71] Professor Allison Forbes, Edmonton, remembers seeing such a painting in a store window in Drumheller in the 1930s. A painting by Gissing, of a lone Indian rider bearing down on a herd of buffalo, apparently hung outside a garage on the Banff trail in the late 1920s. It is now in a private collection in Fort McLeod.

[72] Roland Gissing, Letter to P.W. Beltz, 28 Mar. 1924, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[73] Roland Gissing, Letter to P.W. Beltz, 16 April 1924, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[74] Ibid.

[75] C.W. Jefferys, Letter to Mrs. Jefferys, 3 Aug. 1924; as quoted in letter received from Robert Stacey, C.W. Jefferys Estate Archive, Toronto, 25 Nov. 1985. Jeffery's letter reveals that he stayed at the Mortimer ranch in 1924.

[76] Macdonald, Dictionary.

[77] Artist's Information Form, National Gallery of Canada.

[78] The 1927 exhibition was held in the Calgary Public Library. The reviewer stated that Gissing "had made wonderful progress in the last few years." ("Jottings from the local art circle," Calgary Herald, 17 Sept. 1927, p. 18). In 1929, Jack Booth, a Calgary art dealer, apparently held the exhibition. See Richard J. Needham, "Artists of the Foothills," Calgary Herald, 8 Feb. 1941, Mag. Sect., p. 1.

[79] Interview with Max Foran, 28 Sept. 1986; See "Jottings."

[80] See Leonard Richmond, The Teaching of Oil Painting (Toronto: Sir Isaac Pitman, n.d.).

[81] G. Blair Laing, Memoirs of An Art Dealer, 2 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), p. 144. That he attempted to sell his work in Vancouver in the 1930s is revealed in a letter of 1937 in which he wrote: "knowing Vancouver of old, . . . sales are very poor there." (Roland Gissing, Letter to P.W. Beltz, 8 Mar. 1937, Glenbow, Archives, Calgary).

[82] Lethbridge Herald, 5 April 1961.

[83] Barnhouse.

[84] William Colgate, Canadian Art, Its Origin and Development (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1943), p. 184. A review of 1943 praises his paintings for the "subtlety of the gentler, more subdued tones," (Calgary Herald, 1 Nov. 1943).

[85] Roland Gissing, Letter to P.W. Beltz, 21 Jan. 1938, pp. 4-5, Glenbow Archives, Calgary. It appears that this work was exhibited at the Coste House, Calgary, in 1943 and was referred to as "the finest painting" in the show and as showing Gissing's "great feeling and maturity in the handling of his medium," D. Geneva Lent, "Gissing Exhibit Shows Beauty of Foothills," Calgary Herald, 1 Nov. 1943.

[86] A recent description of his work describes it as consisting of "pink sunsets with purple clouds over blue mountains above yellow fields." (Painting in Alberta, An Historical Survey, exhibition catalogue, text by Karen Wilkin [Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery, 1980], n. pag.).

[87] Barnhouse.

[88] "The art prizes," Morning Albertan [Calgary], 6 July 1911, p. 4.

[89] Letter received from Virginia G. Berry, 17 Mar. 1986.

[90] Free Press [Winnipeg], 8 Feb. 1913, Women's sect., p. 1.

[91] See Free Press [Winnipeg], 1 July, 1919, p. 4; 9 July, 1920, p. 8.; 30 Aug. 1920, p. 8. Thanks to Virginia G. Berry for this information.

[92] Morning Albertan [Calgary], 1 Feb. 1912. This likely refers to the School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

[93] Morning Albertan, 5 July 1911.

[94] Calgary Herald, 29 Sept. 1911, p. 4.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Morning Albertan, 1 Feb. 1912. The courses consisted of drawing and painting and were held in the Carnegie Library, Calgary's public library.

[97] Morning Albertan, 30 April 1912; Frances Klingle states that no further mention of the Art Association appears in Calgary newspapers after 1912. (p. 45).

[98] Winnipeg Directory, 1915-1929.

[99] Interview with Christina Johnson-Dean, 25 April 1986; "List of Exhibitors, Island Arts and Crafts Society," Public Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. Baxter was on the executive of the Society for several years in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1944 she gave an address titled "Drawing from Life." (Christina Betts Johnson-Dean, "The Crease Family and the Arts in Victoria, British Columbia," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Victoria, 1980, p. 487).

[100] Free Press [Winnipeg], 30 April 1920, p. 8.

[101] Alberta Normal Schools, Announcement, 1921-22, Staff, Provincial Normal School, Calgary.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid,; Edmonton Directory, 1908.

[104] "Normal Teacher given farewell," Calgary Herald, 30 May 1944.

[105] F.D. Motter, "R.L. Harvey, Retrospective Notes," Highlights, June 1951; Helen Collinson, "Biographies," unpub. biographical information on Alberta artists, 1981; R.L. Harvey, Artist Biography Sheet, Art Department, Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

[106] Artist's information sheet, National Gallery of Canada.

[107] Morning Albertan, 2 July 1919, p. 17.

[108] Undated clipping, R.L. Harvey file, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[109] Helen Collinson, "Beginnings of the indigenous art community in Calgary," unpub. paper, 1981.

[110] Edmonton Daily Bulletin, 14 Aug. 1913, p. 5.

[111] Ibid.

[112] "Past President of the Edmonton Art Club Died at Evanston," unidentified newspaper clipping, 14 Aug. 1913, p. 5, University Collections files, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton.

[113] See Edmonton Daily Bulletin, 13 Aug. 1915; 13 July 1917; 13 July 1918, p. 3; 11 July 1919, p. 15; 8 July 1920, p. 6.

[114] Edmonton Art Club, First Annual Exhibition of Works, Board of Trade Rooms, Mcleod Building, April 12-15, 1922. With gratitude to Mrs. Rosemary Rees, Edmonton Art Club Historian.

[115] A work by Johnstone titled Mount Robson was shown in the first exhibition of the Edmonton Art Club.

[116] Edmonton Art Club, Fourth Annual Exhibition of Works, Edmonton, April 9-11, 1925. The costs of Johnstone's works ranged from Milking Time, for $125 to Mount Robson for $20.

[117] Edmonton Directory, 1914, 1915, 1919.

[118] "Exhibition delights throngs of visitors with display of local artists," Edmonton Daily Bulletin, 3 April 1918, p. 4.

[119] "Jottings from the local art circle," *Calgary Herald*, 17 Sept. 1927, p. 18.

[120] Autobiographical note, Robert Campbell, Provincial Archives of Alberta.

[121] *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 11 July 1919, p. 15.

[122] Collection of Mr. and Mrs. J. Allan Campbell, Edmonton.

[123] *Spaces and Places*, p. 8. The author states that Cartmell signed his paintings, 'A.C. Treales,' after his birthplace, Treales, Lancashire. He had trained in England at the Preston Art School and with Julius Olson, R.A.

[124] Klingle, p. 71.

[125] *Ibid*., pp. 149-56.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

The artists who painted in the Canadian Rockies during the period, 1845 to 1923, ranged from amateurs travelling through the mountains during the pre-railway era, to painters within the mainstream of western European and North American landscape painting. The earliest are representative of the late Romantic and the latest, of the Modern period when artists, as Kenneth Clark writes, were driven by "a common and powerful impulse . . . to abandon the imitation of natural appearances."[1]

Many of the paintings examined have revealed that, throughout the period, the use of picturesque conventions was considered appropriate for the depiction of alpine scenery. The way of seeing alpine landscape in terms of such formats, related to the eighteenth-century British development of viewing landscape as scenery, meant that certain specific views or prospects came to be considered more worthy of attention than others. To varying degrees, artists followed picturesque conventions as well as the tenets of a watered down classical composition which had as it forebear the well-known formats of Claude Lorraine. Thus, by the early nineteenth century, "a peaceful scene, with water in the foreground reflecting a luminous sky and set off by dark trees, was something which everyone agreed was beautiful."[2] Amateur artists were particularly prone to these conventions. Without intensive training or stimulation of fellow artists, they often turned to instruction books which advised an adherence to such formats.[3]

Throughout this study, instances may be found of paintings of the Rocky Mountain landscape which display, to varying degrees, the format of mountains in the background, middle distance of valley, lake or river, and foreground framed by trees (which could also be in the middle distance) and provided with details such as rocks or typical picturesque elements like shattered tree stumps. In the more Claudian version, the foreground tends to contain less or no detail and the middle distance is emphasized. As a result of this adherence to picturesque conventions, and its accompanying interest in the prospect, few painters depicted such occurrences in the Rockies as the forest fires frequently mentioned by artists. The main objective of most of the early painters, it appears, was to bring back appropriately romantic scenes of the wilderness of the North West. As they did not include a Turner among them, these artists chose not to portray the horrors of fire or avalanche in the mountains.

As the century wore on, specifically picturesque conventions became less apparent, and it is often particularly the mood which remains in many paintings. In the 1840s, H.J. Warre's watercolours suggest distinct picturesque elements such as sidescreens of dark trees silhouetted against the middle distance. By the 1880s, picturesque conventions are still apparent in the work of, for instance, T. Mower Martin, Lucius O'Brien and Edward Roper but are less obviously applied. After the turn of the century, Thomas Fripp, for example, painted the Rockies and coastal mountains in such an English watercolour style. Some of his compositions, like those of Bell-Smith, are of the upper alpine areas, but both artists continued to produce, and obviously found a market for, set alpine views applying variations of the forementioned conventions. Besides these painters, some of the early artist/teachers in the province who painted in the Rockies used a typically English watercolour approach well beyond the end of the period under consideration.

The study has also expectedly revealed that by the late 1880s French techniques and sensibilities were affecting the ways in which the Rockies were being painted. An obvious change is the concentration on oil paint, rather than watercolour. By that time several Canadian painters, one of whom was William Brymner, were studying in Paris.[4] Besides receiving a firm academic foundation, art students in Paris in the 1880s would have been aware of an increasing interest in the _étude_ or sketch drawn from direct observation of nature.[5] This practice had been encouraged by the admiration in France for Barbizon painters, which had slowly undermined the taste for studio-contrived landscapes. Also by the 1880s, artists of the academies were becoming aware of the new techniques being practiced by the Impressionists. Thus, we have seen in some of the work by William Brymner unusual viewpoints, more concentration on figures and an attempt to paint the subject in a broader and generalized manner. Also, less attention to detail or accurate depiction of depth and concentration on the 'effect' have been seen in paintings by Mary R. Hamilton, Inglis Sheldon-Williams, Homer Watson and J.W. Beatty. Bell-Smith adopted loose brush strokes, limited detail and a strong interest in atmosphere in his later paintings of the Rockies. Carl Rungius obviously absorbed some

Impressionist and Post-Impressionist techniques which he would have seen represented in Berlin and New York. Others who appear to have been influenced by French painting techniques were the painters living in Vancouver, Henry J. de Forest and Alice Blair Thomas. However, by this time, near the end of the first decade of the century, techniques which had originated in France were becoming generally diffused throughout centres in Europe and North America. By the second decade of the century, some painters of the Rockies were turning to Post-Impressionist ideas. A.Y. Jackson is the most prominent, but Charles Simpson's illustrations reveal exaggerated colour and a concern with pattern. Jackson, of course, further developed such elements although the McMichael Collection sketch does not fully illustrate, for example, the simplified forms and intensified colour that he was employing by this time. Jackson's relation to the Symbolic landscape painting of northern Europe has been related.

Mention must be made of the large mountain landscapes of the 1890s and early 1900s commissioned by the C.P.R. In the United States, the importance of the sublime in landscape painting, among some artists and their patrons, persisted during the nineteenth century. Robert Rosenblum describes this phenomenon as a "native tradition" and refers, expectedly, to Albert Bierstadt, Frederic Church and Thomas Moran.[6] In Britain, the previously-mentioned large paintings by John Martin of biblical subjects set in cataclysmic mountain settings also stand within this tradition as well as that of the panorama and diorama. However, by the time of most of the painting in the Canadian Rockies large paintings which evoked sublime emotions were no longer acceptable to the majority of enlightened patrons in the United States and Britain. Bierstadt had fallen from favour by the 1880s. Likewise in Canada, such monumental depictions of sublime nature were not favoured by collectors by late century, which witnessed, for example, a preference for Dutch painting by wealthy Montreal collectors. Thus, it appears that the very large canvases executed for the C.P.R. were anomalies among landscape paintings being produced at that time in Canada. Regardless of their size, they do not seem to have been considered as significant developments in landscape painting. Thus, for example, the eight-foot wide Kicking Horse Pass by William Brymner, of 1901, was not exhibited in the R.C.A. annual exhibition, but presumably was shipped direct to the C.P.R. without concern for its appeal to public and critics. Paintings like this were apparently seen as peculiar to the tastes of the magnates of the C.P.R. and as appropriate to the walls of C.P.R. hotels.

The study has revealed the influence of photography on some paintings of the Rockies. By the 1880s, the decreasing awkwardness of photographic equipment allowed artists, many miles from their studios, to take photographs as aids to future paintings. The effect of photography on the painters in this study, though difficult to ascertain, was significant. This relation is particularly true for the early landscape painters sponsored by the C.P.R. Several had worked in Notman Studios in Montreal, Toronto, and Saint John. These included John Hammond, Frederick Verner, John A. Fraser, George Horne Russell and Robert F. Gagen. Painters of the Rockies who worked for other photographic studios included William Armstrong and Frederic

Bell-Smith. The American artist, Frederic Remington, made extensive use of photographs.[7] Artists working for Notman touched up and actually painted photographs. Some of them worked for the firm for long periods. John Fraser's association, for example, lasted 20 years. The case of Fraser's commission from the C.P.R. to paint photograph-derived landscapes, which were subsequently praised in England as evidence of "a new School of Art," has been related. Ann Thomas singles out certain Rocky Mountain paintings, such as those by Fraser and Hammond, which were obviously based on photographs. The elements which reveal this reliance include exactitude of detail, uniformity of surface qualities, and exaggerated or unnatural colour, as well as a composition which is not arranged according to pictorial conventions of naturalistic painting. Moreover, the paintings often exhibit the quality of "a moment stopped in time."[8] The close proximity of photographs to landscape paintings by Bell-Smith has been described. Taking advantage of the availability of photographs, J. Colin Forbes entered a painting of the Rockies in the R.C.A. exhibition of 1884, before any painters had visited the region by train. Notman photographs were sold on ~~the~~ trains, at all major stations, company hotels and resorts along the line, as well as at major stationery stores and hotels across Canada.[9] As the twentieth century turned away from the naturalism that had been demanded of its image makers, photography played less of a role among landscape painters.

Both artists' and writers' accounts during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth describe the Rockies as sublime or as having qualities of grandeur. However, except for the large works commissioned by the railways, the visual depiction of the Rockies as sublime was less apparent. Warre, in Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, refers to the mountains as "grand in the extreme" and of his feelings of being in an "Amphitheatre of Mountains towering over each other." In some of the illustrations he attempts to depict this effect. However, by the 1870s, the language of description and the visual depiction of mountains seem to have moved farther apart. R.B. Nevitt described the mountains as appearing to "pierce the empyrean and possibly to supply the 'Fountains of eternal peace'," suggesting a Ruskinian attitude to mountains; yet he painted them in the soft, transparent watercolour of earlier English painting. O'Brien referred in letters to feelings of "awe" in connection with the "stern majesty" of the Selkirks. However, several of his paintings include picturesque compositional elements, with mountains gently shrouded in mist. In the nationalistic publication, Canada, of 1907, the "grandeur" of the Rockies is stressed by poet Wilfred Campbell (who had not visited the Rockies), whereas they are illustrated as typical views employing picturesque conventions by T. Mower Martin. In 1917, a Calgary review of the paintings by the American artist, Leonard Davis, provides another case. The known examples of Davis' paintings of the Rocky Mountains suggest a sense of stillness and harmony reminiscent of American Luminism, yet the reviewer refers to his paintings of the Rockies as displaying "sublime grandeur." Thus, the Rockies were described within the tenets of one convention and visually depicted within another.

Written descriptions of nature in language which seems prescribed are also discussed by writers of literary history. A recent study of the application of the picturesque to North American landscape employs the term "aesthetic baggage" to explain the landscape perceptions of nineteenth-century British travellers.[10] The way in which these visitors, who had come directly from England or were influenced by British attitudes, saw the landscape was coloured by the "aesthetic baggage" which they carried to the new country. The landscape in Canadian literature is the subject of another study which refers to the "conventionalization," by way of picturesque and sublime "canons," of landscape in Canadian prose. The author writes that "the conventionalization process is a major mode . . . until the twentieth century."[11]

For some of the English or English-trained artists discussed in this study, it may be suggested that the conventionalization of the Rockies as carefully composed scenery was a means to control the overwhelming experience of travelling among the remote and little-known mountains of the North West. They wished to see the wilderness become civilized to meet English sensibilities. The fact that the illustrations in travel books such as those of William Bartlett revealed a similarity between the scenes in Canada and Switzerland gives credence to this assertion.[12]

In some respects, artists were lured to the mountains. The case of the C.P.R. is obvious, but other factors were influential. The fact that prints and published illustrations of the Rockies were produced in relatively large numbers since the area was first visited by artists in the mid-nineteenth century, likely influenced artists. Not only Warre, but aristocratic travellers such as the Earl of Southesk, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, the Marquis of Lorne and Lady Aberdeen produced illustrated travel books which included scenes of the Rocky Mountains. In the case of Milton and Cheadle, sketches and photographs were produced from various sources. The Canadian Pacific and Canadian National railways continued to produce travel publications illustrated with paintings and photographs of the Rockies well into the twentieth century. Besides these publications, from the mid 1880s photographs of the Rockies were readily available. These various images would have helped to maintain the visual habit of seeing landscape by way of previously-mentioned formats.

A consistent undercurrent which accompanied the lure of the mountains as visual subject matter was the climate of expansionism which, by the 1860s, as Doug Owram states, was "interwined" with nationalism. From the 1840s expedition of Henry J. Warre, who was in the West to obtain information for the British government regarding American western expansion, to Jackson and Beatty, who went to the West to paint for the C.N.R. as it pushed its line westward in 1914, this ideal seems to be inherent in the attitudes of most of the painters. In the 1880s, the C.P.R. artists produced paintings and illustrations promoting western expansion. One of them, Lucius O'Brien, had already provided illustrations for the nationalistic publication, Picturesque Canada. He is described by Dennis Reid as setting out to motivate other R.C.A. artists "to seek a supportive 'spirit' in the environment, which would express the new federal idea of a nation linked in common purpose from sea to sea."[13] An 1891 review referred to O'Brien and

Bell-Smith as painting "our Rockies." S.A. Curzon wrote that their Rocky Mountain paintings bore "a message to which we are not yet fully awakened, 'Yours, Yours, Yours, Ye Canadians'."[14] This attraction of the idea of expansion to central and eastern Canadians is also suggested by the continuing popularity of the western paintings of Frederick Verner. The painter who knew the West first-hand, John Innes, saw himself as the 'Canadian Remington' who was preserving the images of the disappearing life of the West. Expansionist sentiments in connection with his paintings are found as late as 1929. The exhibition catalogue of paintings by Innes, titled The Epic of Western Canada, reiterates Laurier's assertion that the twentieth century is Canada's: "It is yet only morning in the North-West--Come in on the flood-tide of Opportunity!"

Nationalistic concerns were detrimental to aesthetic concerns in some cases. Referring to post-Confederation Canadian poetry, Northrop Frye suggests that poems such as Charles G.D. Roberts' (1860-1943) "An Ode for the Canadian Confederacy," are examples of works in which the poet is not sincere, "and the clue to his poetic insincerity is the remote surveying vision that is really focussed on nothing but a map."[15] In this, Frye appears to mean that the poet has become caught up in the nationalistic and expansionist enthusiasm of the day. His criticism of post-Confederation poetry may also be applied to some of the landscape paintings which have been discussed in this study. In particular, some of the large, bombastic paintings commissioned by the C.P.R. in the 1890s seem devoid of expression and "focussed on nothing but a map." The insincerity of these paintings has been shown to be largely a result of C.P.R. directives which emphasized the need for propaganda, rather than art. The paintings of John Innes, who stressed the importance of accuracy over aesthetics, also are examples of artistic expression being diminished in favour of nationalistic concerns.

The patronage of the C.P.R., associated as it was with the nationalism and expansion of the late nineteenth century has been dealt with in Chapter III. Besides Frye's suggestion of the "obsessive" nature of the concern with railway building and exploration in the Canadian imagination, for landscape painters the railway was a means of reaching distant landscape subjects. In 1878, a reviewer pointed out the need for a railway which would allow painters access to the "vaster fields of the significant but, as yet, too inaccessible scenery of the North-west."[16] Not only did the C.P.R. provide this access, but during the heyday of its patronage, the company assisted artists in a wide range of activities. These included the providing of railway cars to photographers and painters, the distributing of railway passes to artists for travel to the Rockies, the prescribing of subject matter, the purchasing of paintings (some of which had been commissioned), the arranging or underwriting of exhibitions, the soliciting of favourable reviews, and, more indirectly, the influencing of art institutions through the membership of the C.P.R. elite on boards. Thus, a substantial number of paintings of the Rocky Mountains would never have been painted without the involvement of the C.P.R. This situation was apparent to some contemporaries. In 1888, the writer for The Week lamented the large number and lack of variety of paintings of the

Rockies at the R.C.A. Exhibition. The role of the C.P.R. was noted when the reviewer referred to the mountains which were "named and designated to suit the inordinate vanity of the directors and projectors of the C.P.R." The painters themselves complained of the C.P.R. demands. In 1886, William Brymner expressed dismay at the large size of paintings he was expected to produce and John A. Fraser had difficulty in meeting the demand for paintings based on photographs supplied by the company.

Artists were not the only recipients of passes to the mountains; 'elite' travellers were also given this privilege on the condition that they write and have published letters or books relating to their travels. Edward Roper seems to have complied with more than one of these conditions, publishing a book, illustrating it and providing the company with paintings. For writers who could not furnish their own illustrations the company supplied them with photographs.

Allan Pringle's valuable study on the patronage of the C.P.R. up until 1900 made extensive use of C.P.R. correspondence during the period. Little correspondence from the post-1900 period remains extant. This is partly due to the different modes of artist support practiced by the company after the retirement of Van Horne. Pringle states that in 1896 the company reduced its commissions of paintings of the Canadian West.[17] However, as has been revealed in this study, the company continued to support painters of the Rockies. In 1914, it was joined by the Canadian Northern Railway and, it appears, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway; and by 1924, by the Canadian National Railway, which had incorporated the latter two.

It has become apparent that, from the mid-1880s until as late as the 1950s, painters who wished to paint in the Rockies customarily approached the railway companies to obtain free transportation. Initially, as Pringle has noted, members of the R.C.A. and those with international reputations were the most successful. The painters who are known to have received assistance from Canadian railways after the turn of the century included the Americans, Frederic Remington and, probably, Leonard Davis, as well as Charles Simpson, Inglis Sheldon-Williams, Emily Warren, A.Y. Jackson and J.W. Beatty. In the West, Carl Rungius and Belmore Browne, the early professional artists living in the province, were frequently issued passes by the C.P.R. The fact that they both sold their works in New York and thus promoted Canadian scenery in that city, likely acted as an added incentive to the company to provide them with assistance. The question arises of whether or not they would have spent less time in Banff were it not for the C.P.R.

By about 1915, the C.P.R. seems to have preferred to commission murals and panoramas rather than easel paintings. The murals for the C.P.R. station, likely commissioned in 1916, have been mentioned. Large panorama "views" were exhibited by the company in the 1917 Calgary Exhibition and the 1920 Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto.[18] The company continued to commission or supply passes and other assistance to artists up to the 1950s. According to her biographer, Emily Warren was still painting for the railways in the 1950s and in 1954 the company commissioned 18 artists to paint scenes of the National Parks for the interiors of observation cars.[19]

Thus, the C.P.R. and, to a lesser extent, the other three railways, played a significantly large part in the proliferation of paintings of the Rocky Mountains which was partly responsible for the subject eventually being considered a cliché by artists. From the moment the company first sent photographers West, through the heyday of patronage of landscape painters, to the production of publications, posters, pamphlets and brochures, the C.P.R. and other railways placed before the public a constant stream of photographed, painted and printed images of the Rocky Mountains. Thus, it is impossible to separate painting in the Canadian Rockies from the role of Canadian railways.

The first resident painters, it has been seen, took a naturalistic approach to painting in the mountains. Browne and Gissing are seen clearly in this light. Rungius' use of expressive colour and colour areas suggests an interest in Post-Impressionism. The fact that paintings of Rungius and Browne for the most part were sold outside the province is a reminder of the economic and demographic make-up of the province during the period. Neither painter played a direct role in the development of alpine painting in Alberta, nor did Gissing, who worked in relative isolation from the developments in landscape painting in the province.

These early resident painters also reveal a relation with the alpine landscape that went beyond that of most of the visiting painters. Rungius and Browne were hunters, and the mountains to them also meant the habitats of wild game. Their paintings and writing about the subject often reveal an intimate relation to the mountains.

By the turn of the century, the Rockies as subject matter was losing its appeal for most central Canadian landscape painters. Robert Stacey points out that the generation of C.W. Jefferys (which immediately preceded that of the Group of Seven) rebelled against the

> Rocky Mountain or C.P.R. School that was identified with the original Royal Canadian Academicians, not only because they had a hard time escaping from their elders, . . . but because they wanted to establish their own priorities of subject matter. . . . The Rockies had been 'claimed' by the older Academicians.[20]

Certainly by the turn of the century, other than Bell-Smith, few painters who saw themselves in the forefront of Canadian landscape painting worked in the Rockies regardless of the opportunities for assistance from the railways.

Another likely reason for turning away from Rocky Mountain landscapes for modernist painters who spurned the traditional alpine view, was the difficulty of the subject. C.W. Jefferys, who painted light-filled and delicate paintings of the prairies, wrote that when asked why he did not paint the Rockies he replied that "it just isn't possible to put on canvas the beauty of those mountains, particularly when they have so many different moods or effects. . . . They dwarf one's ambition beyond recall."[21] A.Y. Jackson, too, had viewed the Rocky Mountains as unsuitable subject matter for his talents. Jackson's original reluctance to paint in the Rockies was partly due to the connotations attached to the subject by 1914. He was conscious, as Naomi Jackson Groves points out, of the "big, bad mountain scenes" of the C.P.R. painters. That this attitude had changed by 1924, four years after the establishment of the Group of Seven, is seen in an already-mentioned article by Jackson. That year, he wrote that younger Canadian artists could once again paint the Rockies, "confident in their knowledge of design and colour, and in their freedom from representational limitations which were so long accepted."[22]

Jackson is, of course, referring to the formal vocabulary, by then adopted by the Group of Seven, which was partly derived from Post-Impressionism. When he had attempted to paint the Rockies in such a style ten years earlier, he had found the subject somewhat overwhelming (he pronounced them "less paintable than northern Ontario").[23] However, in 1924, with the success of the Group of Seven already established and supported by the presence of Lawren Harris, he approached the subject more successfully. This 1924 appearance of the two Group members signalled a new interest in Canada in painting the Rocky Mountains.

This examination of the paintings of the Rockies between 1845 and 1923 has not discussed a particularly outstanding period of Canadian landscape painting. The study's value resides rather in its compilation of paintings of a particular subject during a particular time in Canadian art history. Bringing together examples of the works of most of the known painters of the Rockies during the period has permitted certain trends to be observed and conclusions drawn. Some of these trends have already been accepted as elements in the development of Canadian landscape painting in general.

Of the themes that have come to light in this study, some are stylistic and others are contextual. Some of these themes, such as the gradual appearance of French styles of painting following a predominantly English style adopted by the leading painters, will be familiar to students of Canadian art history. However, other topics have also presented themselves for possible consideration in future studies. These would include a comparison of the development of landscape painting in central and western Canada with particular emphasis on the painters who settled in Banff before the establishment of the Banff School; a further examination of the relation of landscape photography and painting in western Canada; and the roles of expansionism and nationalism in western Canadian landscape painting before the First World War. Besides these themes, the significant influence of the C.P.R. on landscape painting in the West seems to merit further study particularly as it relates to the twentieth century. As part of a still larger study, namely the history of corporate patronage in Canada, beginning with the Hudson's Bay Company, the C.P.R.'s role could be further defined.

The study has revealed that there was a large body of work produced in the West which sprang from its own aspirations and motivations. This understanding necessitated its being examined in a context separate from the study of central Canadian landscape painting.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter VI

[1] Kenneth Clarke, *Landscape into Art* (1949; rpt. Boston: Beacon, 1963), p. 74.

[2] Clark, p. 134.

[3] See *Painting During the Colonial Period in British Columbia, 1845-1871*, exhibition catalogue, text by Helen Bergen Peters (Victoria: Sono Nis Press for the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, 1979), p. 15.

[4] Robert Harris, another Canadian painter in Paris in the 1880s, wrote that studying in Paris meant that a student learned "modelling, sound structural drawing, chiaroscuro of tone, facile execution with the brush, the bringing of a picture broadly together by masses, and the melting and evanescent effects of atmosphere upon forms." (Robert Harris, *Some Pages from an Artist's Life* [Charlottetown, n.d.]; as quoted in Joan Murray, "Victorian Canada," pt. 3, *Canadian Antique Collector*, April 1970, p. 16).

[5] Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971), p. 134.

[6] Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition, Friedrich to Rothko* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 202.

[7] A recent study has concluded that Remington's use of the photograph in his illustrative work until the late 1890s, made him "primarily . . . . an intermediary between the camera and the printed page." (Estelle Jussim, *Frederic Remington, the Camera & the Old West* [Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1983], p. 3). In Canada, the extent to which photography and painting were related in Notman Studios is discussed in *William Notman, the Stamp of a Studio*, exhibition catalogue, text by Stanley G. Triggs (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach House Press, 1985).

[8] *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900*, pp. 87-90.

[9] *William Notman, the Stamp of a Studio*, p. 71.

[10] See I.S. MacLaren, "The limits of the picturesque in British North America," *Journal of Garden History* 5, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1985), p. 100. See also, for the duality of response of the English pioneer in Canadian prose, Susan J. Wood, "The Land in Canadian Prose, 1840-1945," Diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1975. The land, or nature, as foe has also been seen in Northrop Frye's definition of the 'garrison

mentality' of early Canadian settlements which huddled together to protect themselves from hostile nature. Wood, like some other writers, does not see this element as being as extreme as Frye suggests. (Wood, p. 36).

[11] Gaile McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome, Explorations in the Canadian Langscape* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1985), pp. 32-3.

[12] See William Beatty, *Switzerland Illustrated*, 2 vols., illus. William H. Bartlett (London: Virtue, 1836) and N.P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated*, 2 vols., illus. William H. Bartlett (London: Virtue, 1842)

[13] Dennis Reid, "Our Own Country Canada," National Gallery of Canada, *Journal*, 31 (24 Nov. 1978), p. 6; as quoted in Pringle, p. 35.

[14] S.A. Curzon, *Dominion Illustrated*, 4 April 1891, p. 336. A recent study of the short-lived Canadian periodical, *Arcadia*, also points to a conscious "development of nationalist sentiment" in editorial policies of late nineteenth-century English Canadian journals which was reflected in art commentaries. (Carol Lowrey, "Arcadia and Canadian Art," *Vanguard*, 15, No. 2 [April/May 1986], p. 20). For nationalism in Canadian literature, see Karen C. Altfest, "Canadian Literary Nationalism, 1836-1914," Diss., City Univ. of New York, 1979.

[15] Northrop Frye, "Sharing the Continent," in his *Divisions on a Ground*, ed. James Polk (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), p. 61.

[16] *The Globe* [Toronto], 21 May 1878; as quoted in Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada/National Museums of Canada, 1979), p. 236.

[17] Donald Allan Pringle, First draft of "Artists of the Canadian Pacific Railraod, 1881-1900," M.A. thesis, Concordia Univ., 1984, Montreal, p. 212.

[18] See "C.P.R. Exhibit One of the Best," *Morning Albertan* [Calgary], 4 July 1917; "C.P.R. at Toronto Fair," *Crag and Canyon* [Banff], 11 Sept. 1920, p. 1. The Calgary panorama was also apparently shown at expositions in San Diego and San Francisco (presumably the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition).

[19] *A Wildernesss for All: Landscapes of Canada's Mountain Parks, 1885-1960*, exhibition catalogue, text by Elizabeth Brown and Allan Pringle (Banff: Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, 1985), p. 15. Many of these murals have been restored and were part of an exhibition, titled "Murals from a Great Canadian Train," organized by the McMichael Conservation Collection and the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1986.

[20] Letter received from Robert Stacey, 25 Nov. 1985.

[21] C.W. Jefferys, quoted in "A great Canadian: West meets East," The Mercury [Estevan, Sask.], 16 Jan. 1939; as quoted in Stacey, letter.

[22] A.Y. Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," Canadian Forum, Jan. 1925, p. 113.

[23] A.Y. Jackson, Letter to Dr. James MacCallum, 27 Aug. 1914; as quoted in Naomi Jackson Groves, A.Y.'s Canada (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1968), p. 148.

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PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATES

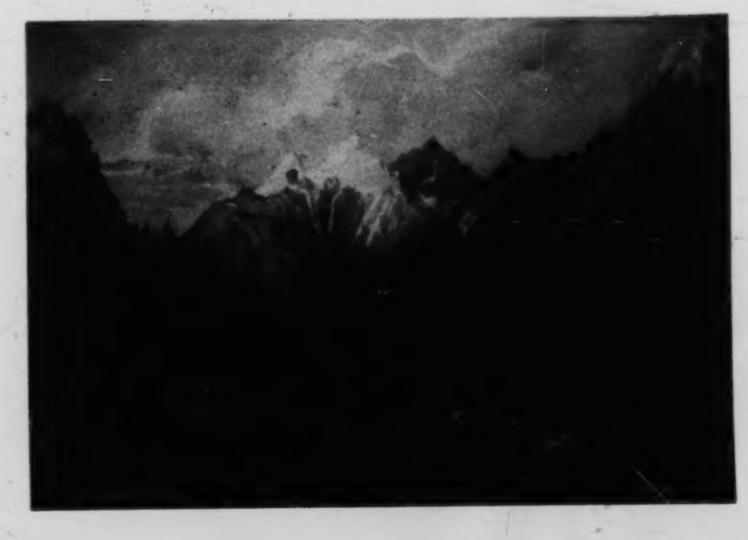


Plate 1: Henry J. Warre, Camp in the Rocky Mountains, July 26, 1845, watercolour, 17.1 x 24.1 cm., Royal Ontario Museum.

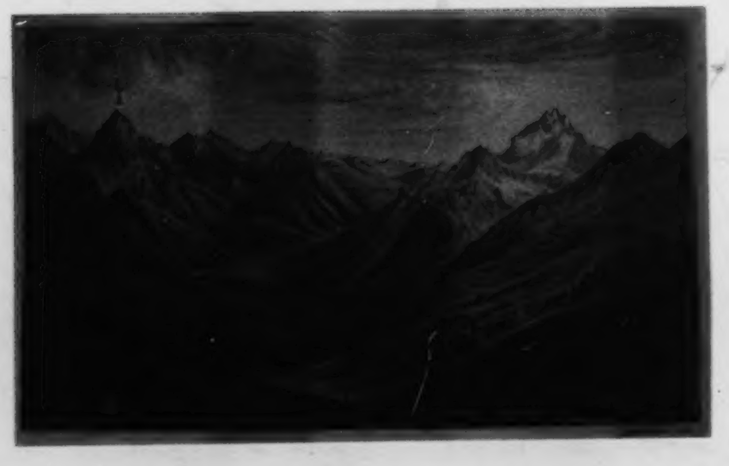


Plate 2: James M. Alden, View from Monument at Summit Looking W. Along 49th Parallel. Highest Peak Kintla Range Bears S.35 W., 1860, watercolour, 25.4 x 34.3 cm., National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

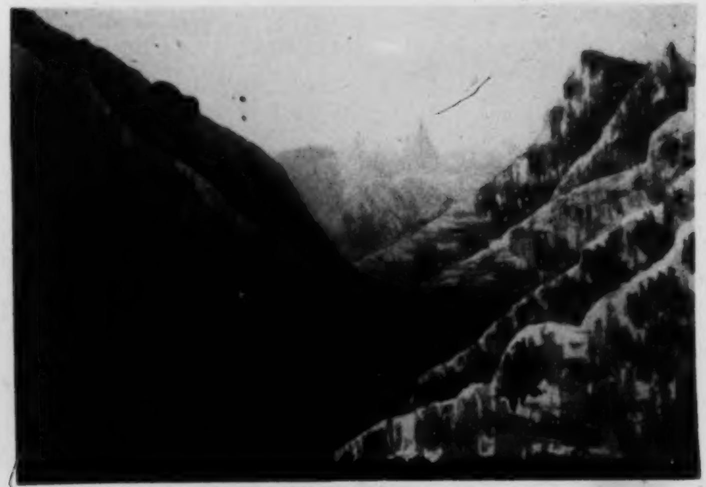


Plate 3: Charles Wilson, Boundary Pass, view from the summit looking east, July 29, 1861, watercolour, 10 x 15 cm., Public Archives of British Columbia.

Plate 4: Richard B. Nevitt, Rocky Mountains from Fort Calgary, c.1876, watercolour, 50.8 x 76.2 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

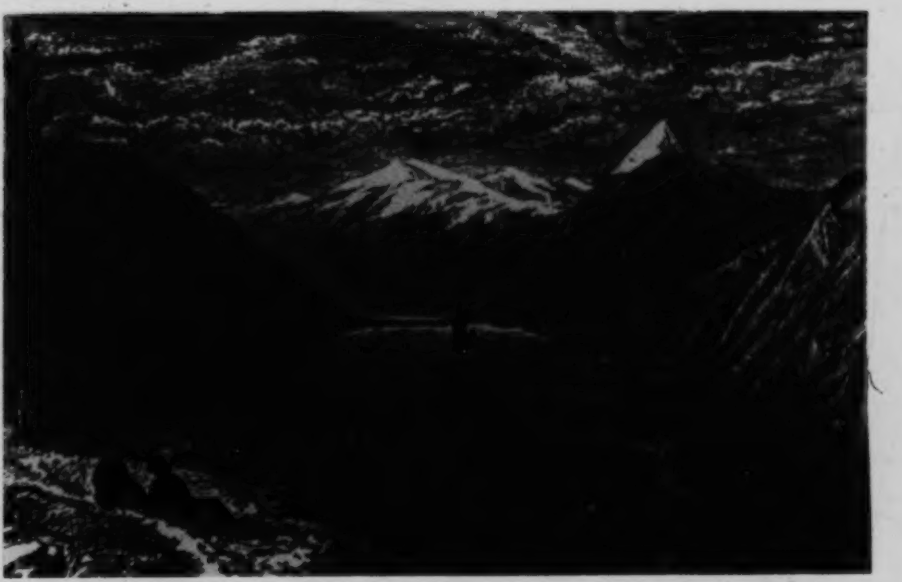


Plate 5: Artist unknown, View from the hill opposite Jasper House, c.1863, illustration, 8 x 15 cm., in Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, The North-West Passage by Land (London: 1865), p. 232.

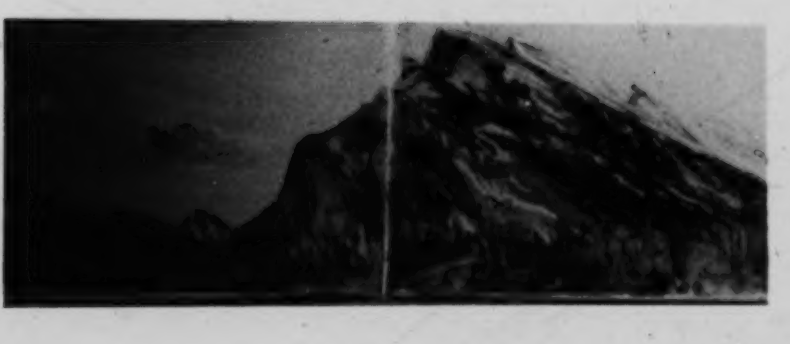


Plate 6: Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, Cascade Mountain, c.1894, watercolour, 17.8 x 50.8 cm., Collection of Mrs. Ursula Surtees, Kelowna, B.C.

Plate 7: A.P. Coleman, Mount Robson, c.1907, watercolour, 15 x 9.6 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 8: Josephine Crease, Mountains, 1923, watercolour, 25.4 x 35.5 cm., Public Archives of British Columbia.

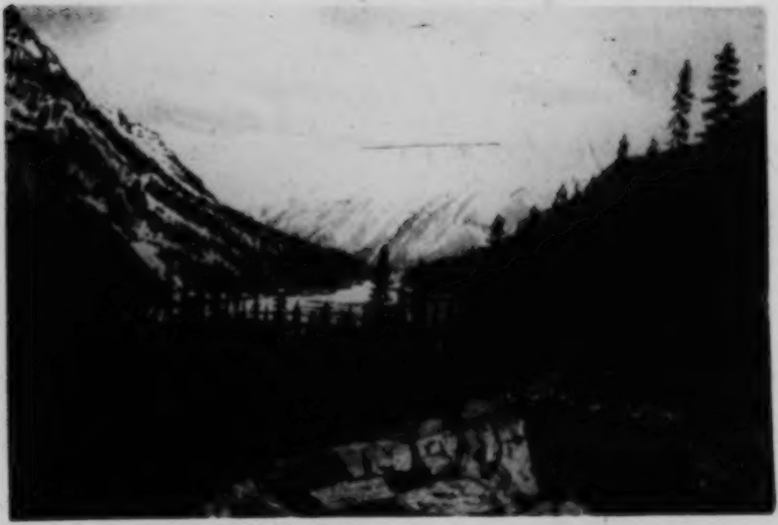


Plate 9: H.O. Bell-Irving, From Above Stewart's Camp, Tunnel Mountain, 1886, watercolour, 16.5 x 24.2 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

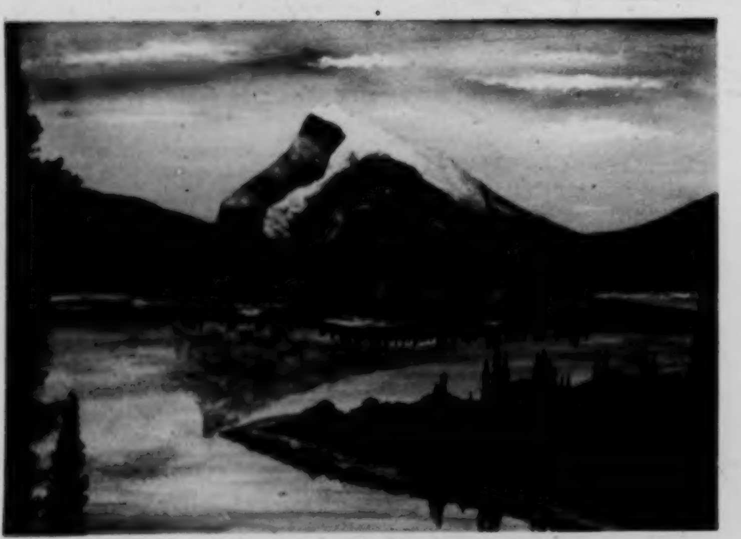


Plate 10: J.D. Curren, Mt. Rundle, Banff, n.d., oil on canvas, 30.5 x 41.3 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

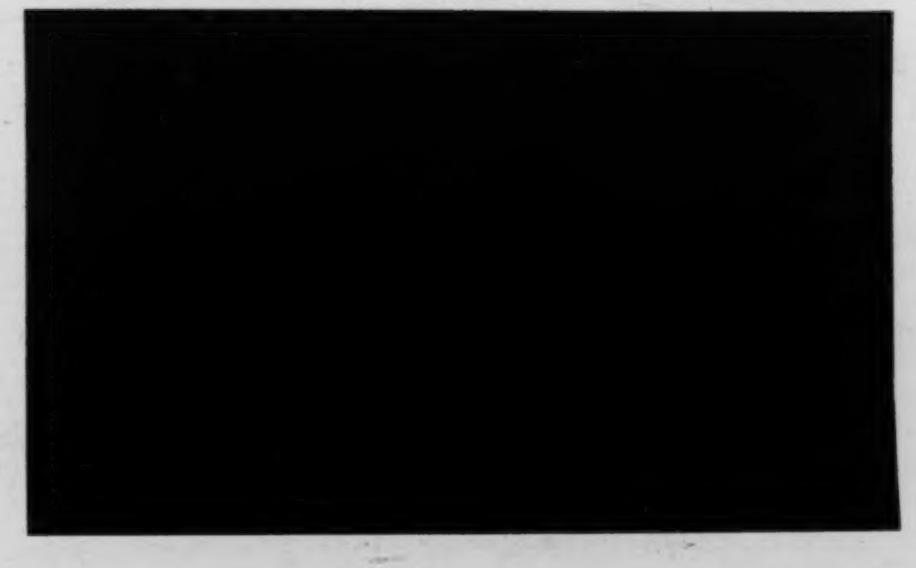


Plate 11: Paul Kane, Boat Encampment, Rocky Mountains, c.1847, watercolour, 13.3 x 22.5 cm., Stark Foundation, Orange, Texas.

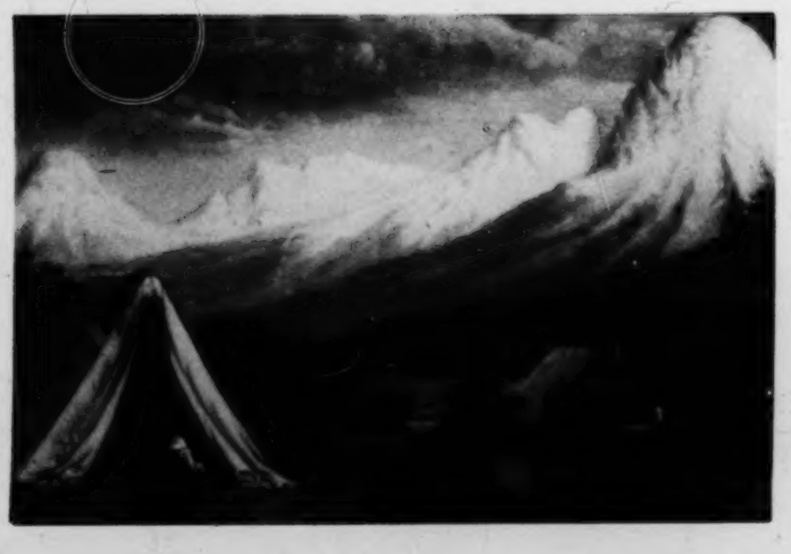


Plate 12: Paul Kane, Boat Encampment, Rocky Mountains, n.d., oil on canvas, 34.3 x 52 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 13: William G.R. Hind, Jasper's House, c.1862, watercolour, 28.3 x 39 cm., Public Archives of British Columbia.

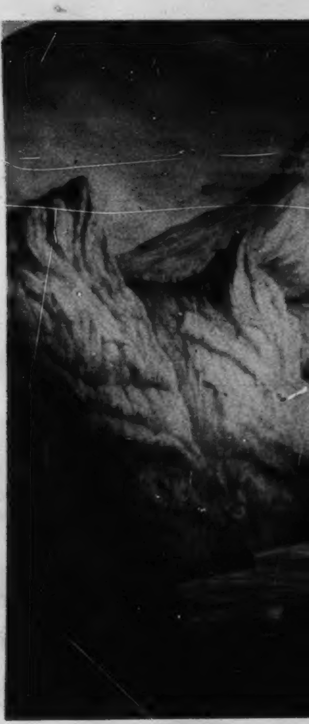
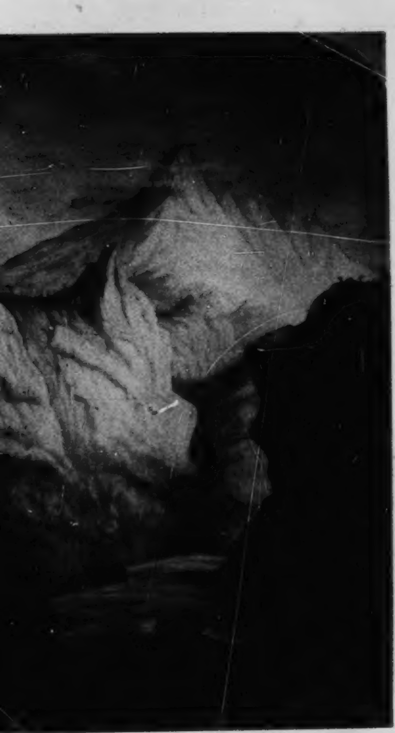


Plate 14: William Armstrong, Rocky Mo
72.4 x 58.4 cm., Royal Ontar



ng, Rocky Mountain Gorge, n.d., watercolour,
Royal Ontario Museum.

Plate 15: Lucius R. O'Brien, Mountain Landscape, 1886, watercolour, 76.2 x 54 cm., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

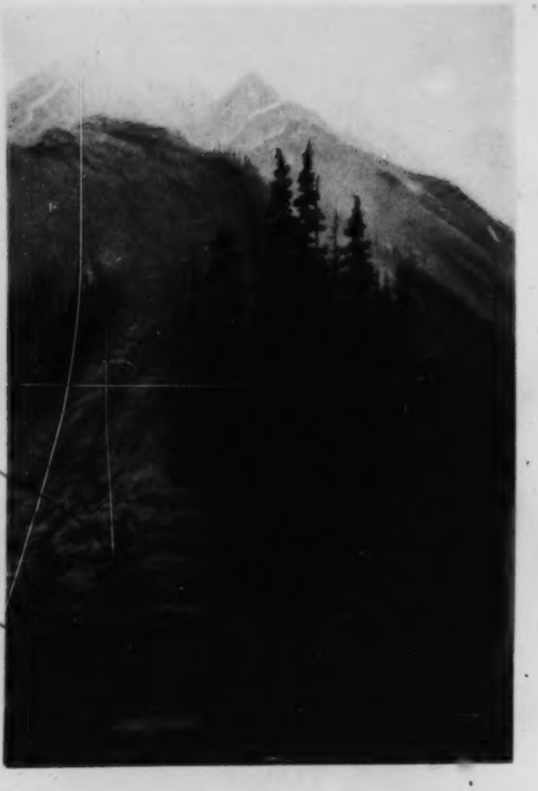


Plate 16: John Colin Forbes, In the Rockies, 1884, oil on canvas, 52.4 x 32.3 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

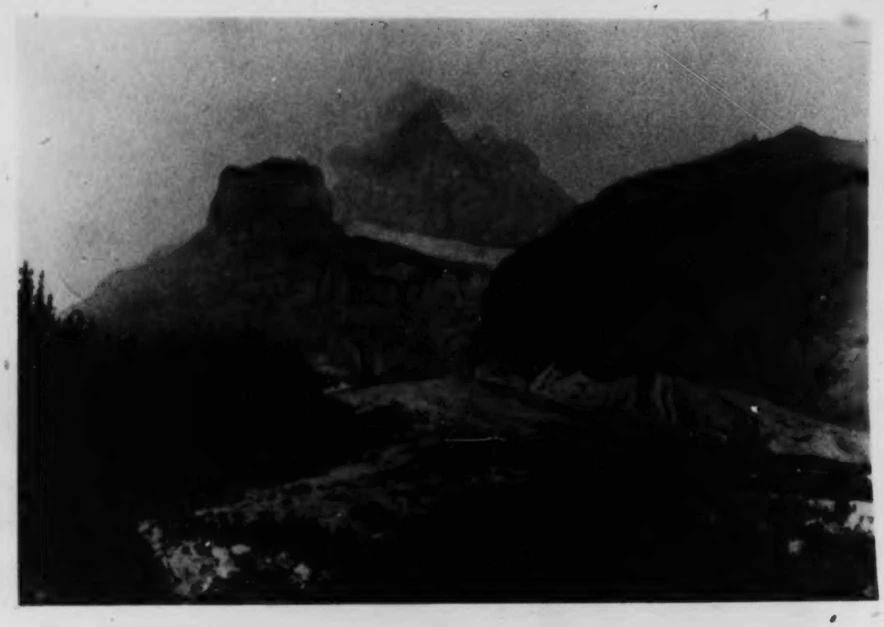


Plate 17: John A. Fraser, Mt. Stephen, near Lenchoil, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886, watercolour, 66 x 91.4 cm., Private collection, Kingston, Ontario.

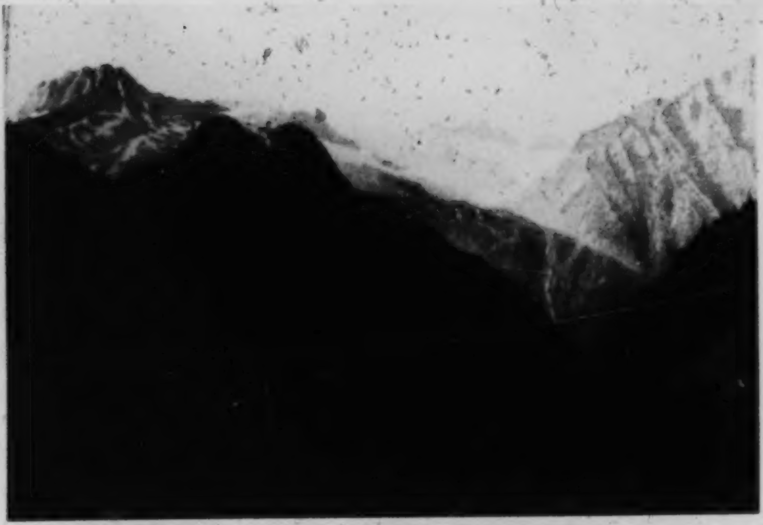


Plate 18: John A. Fraser, Rogers Pass, 1886, oil on canvas, 58.8 x 76.2 cm., National Gallery of Canada.

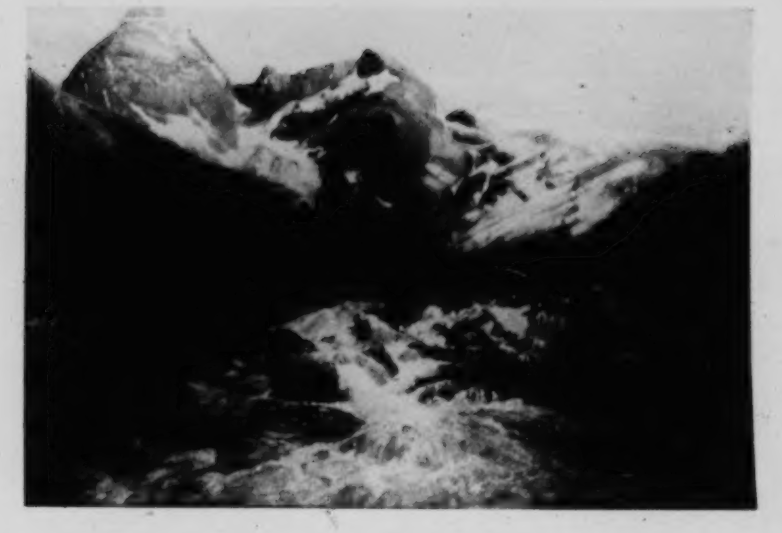


Plate 19: Frederic M. Bell-Smith, Glacier Stream, Selkirks, B.C., c.1890, oil on canvas, 38.1 x 54 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

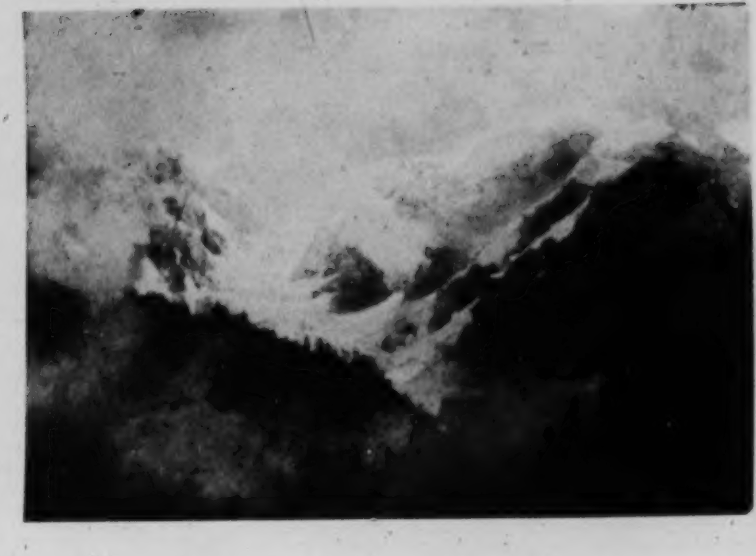


Plate 20: Frederic M. Bell-Smith, Mists and Glaciers in the Selkirks, 1911, oil on canvas, 84.1 x 125.7 cm., National Gallery of Canada.

Plate 21: Albert Bierstadt, Rocky Mountains in the Selkirk Range, near Canadian Border, Mt. Sir Donald, 1889, oil on canvas, 212.1 x 146 cm., Free Public Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts.

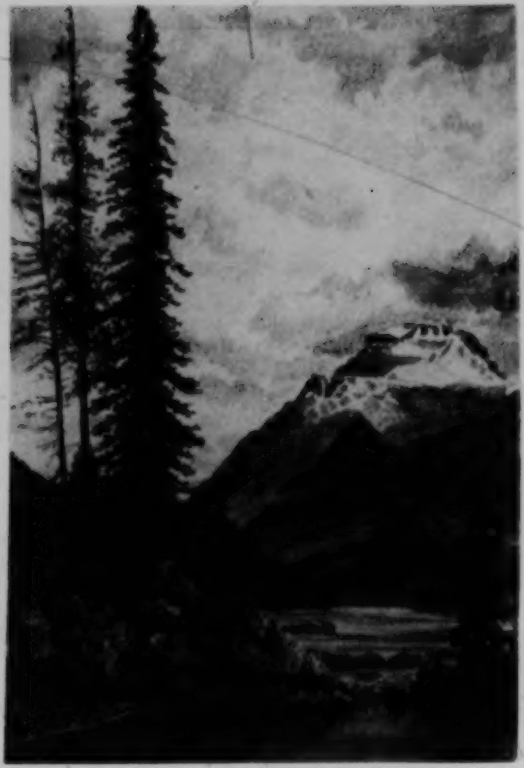


Plate 22: T. Mower Martin, Landscape, 1887, watercolour, 52.7 x 33.3 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

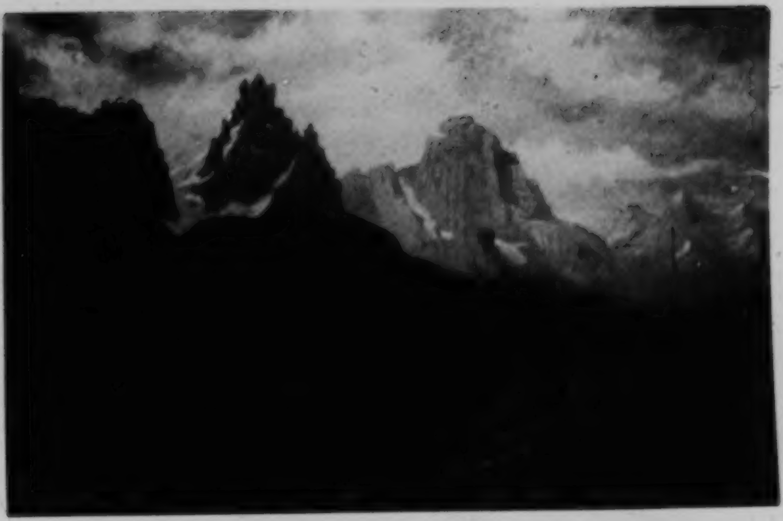


Plate 23: T. Mower Martin, Train in the Mountains, n.d., oil on canvas, 91.4 x 139 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 24: Marmaduke Matthews, Bow River, 1887, oil on canvas, 33 x 67.8 cm., Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff.

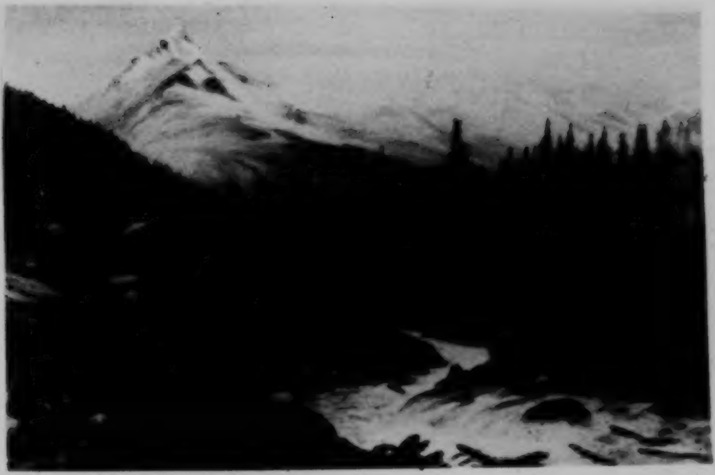


Plate 25: Forshaw Day, Glacier, Mount Cheops, c.1889, oil on canvas, 88 x 135 cm., Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Donald Grace, Calgary.

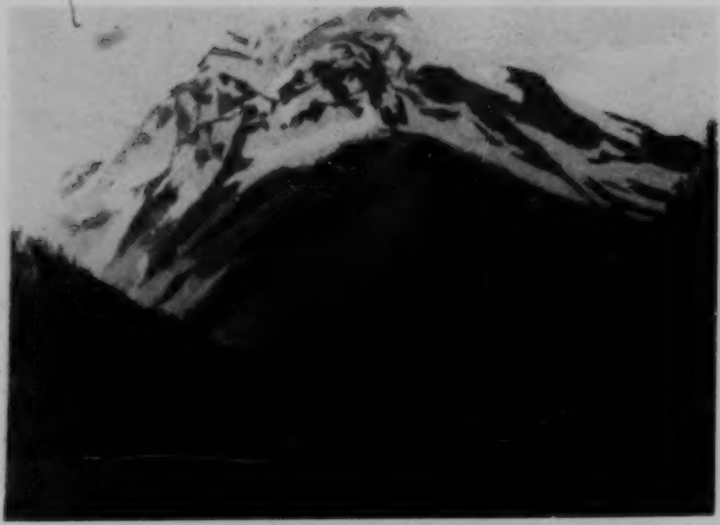


Plate 26: William Brymner, Mount Cheops, Rogers Pass, c.1886, oil on canvas, 152.6 x 213.6 cm., Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa. On permanent loan from the Ontario Heritage Foundation.

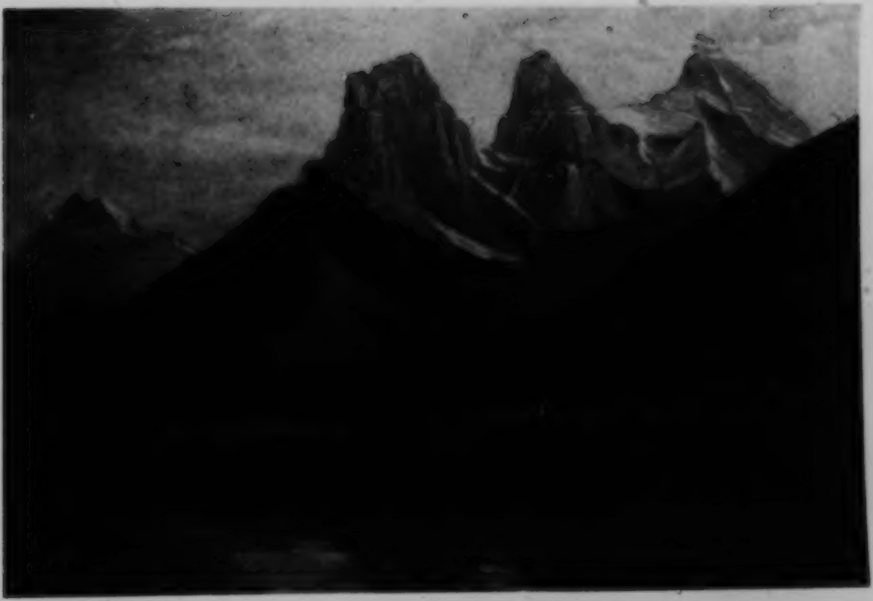


Plate 27: John Hammond, The Three Sisters, 1892, oil on canvas, 122 x 182.9 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 28: John Hammond, C.P.R. Station in the Rockies, 1901, oil on canvas, 152.4 x 243.8 cm., Winnipeg Art Gallery.

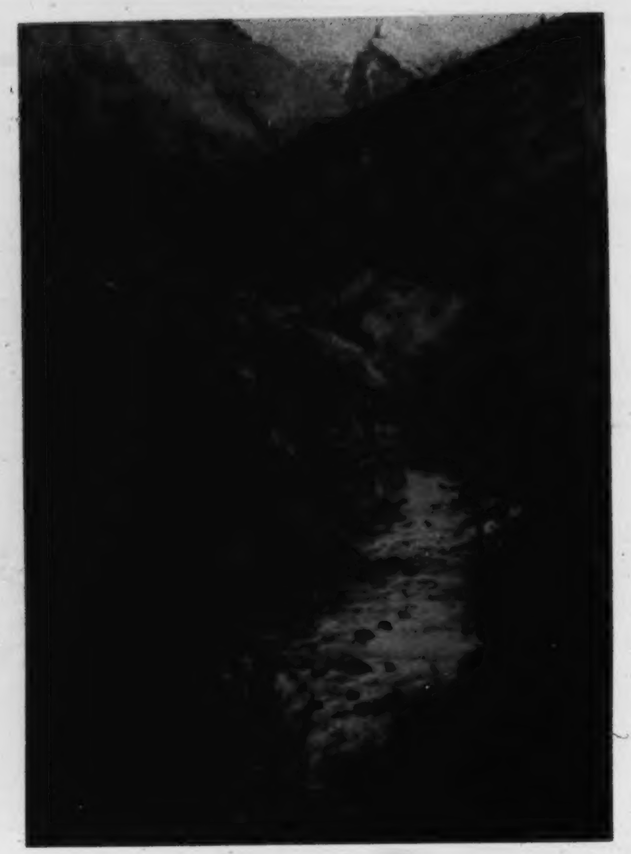


Plate 29: George Horne Russell, Kicking Horse Pass, 1900, oil on canvas, 97.5 x 50.5 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

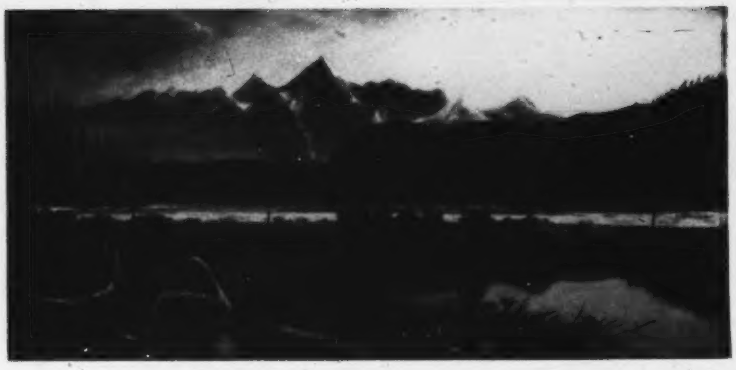


Plate 30: Edward Roper, The Valley of the Kicking Horse, and to ~~the~~ Van Horne Range in the Canadian Rockies, c.1887, watercolour, 35.8 x 73.9 cm., Public Archives of Canada.

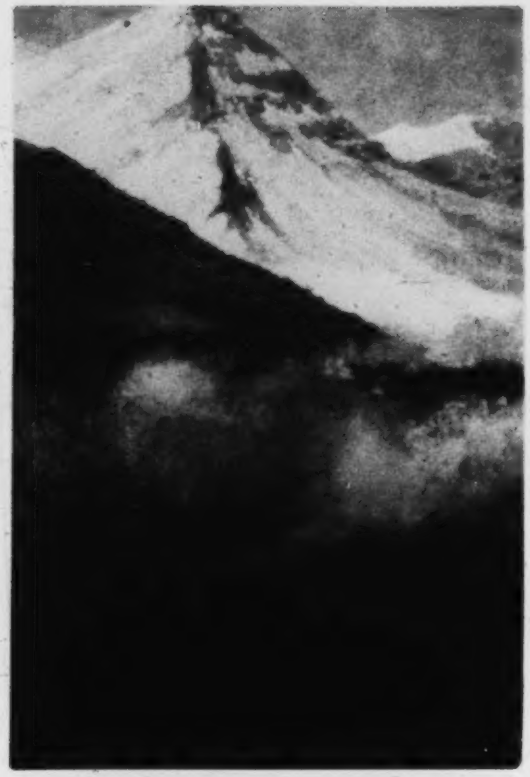


Plate 31: William C. Van Horne, Mount Cheops in the Canadian Rockies, n.d., oil, 121.9 x 86.3 cm., Collection of the Imperial Oil Company, Toronto.

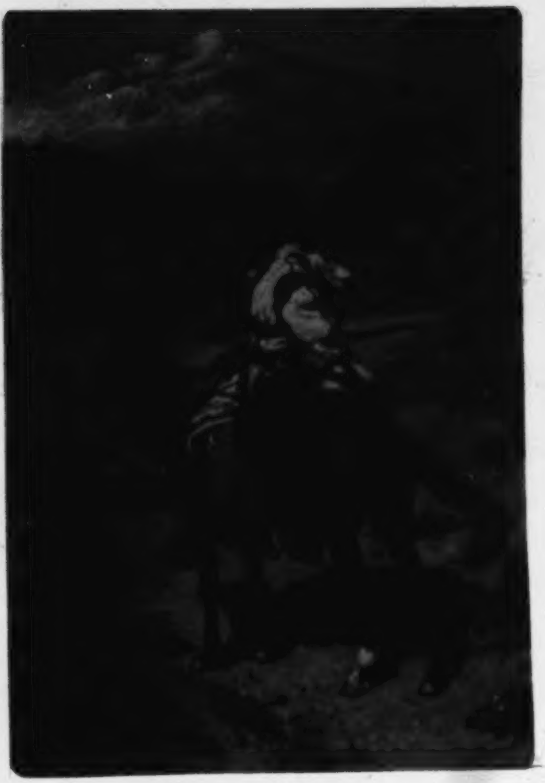


Plate 32: Frederic Remington, An Indian Trapper, 1889, oil on canvas, 124.8 x 86.9 cm., Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.

Plate 33: Frederic Remington, Banff, 1891, oil on board, 95.2 x 64.1 cm., Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, New York.

Plate 34: John Singer Sargent, Lake O'Hara, 1916, oil on canvas, 95.3 x 111.8 cm., Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

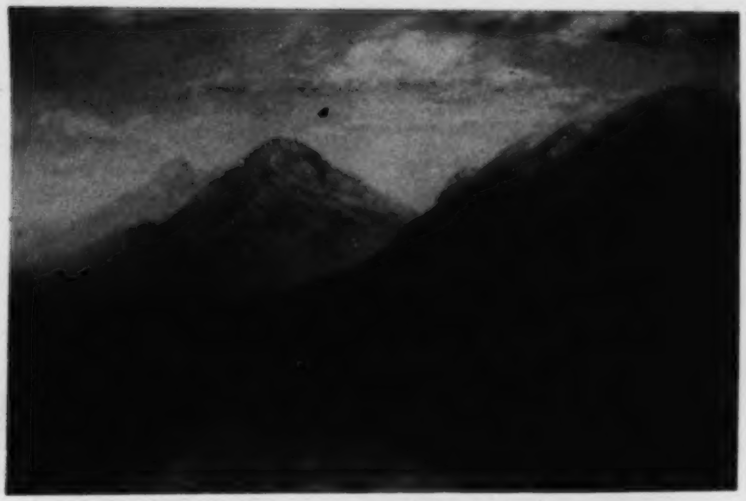


Plate 35: Leonard Davis, Mountain Landscape, Bow Valley, 1918, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 137.1 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 36: Cleveland Rockwell, Banff Springs Hotel, 1904, watercolour, 36.8 x 52 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 37: Thomas W. Fripp, Emerald Lake, 1905, watercolour, 35.6 x 45.7 cm., Art Gallery of Greater Victoria.

Plate 38: Charles John Collings, Nearing the Glacier, 1918, watercolour, 12.3 x 18 cm., Maltwood Memorial Museum of Historic Art, University of Victoria.

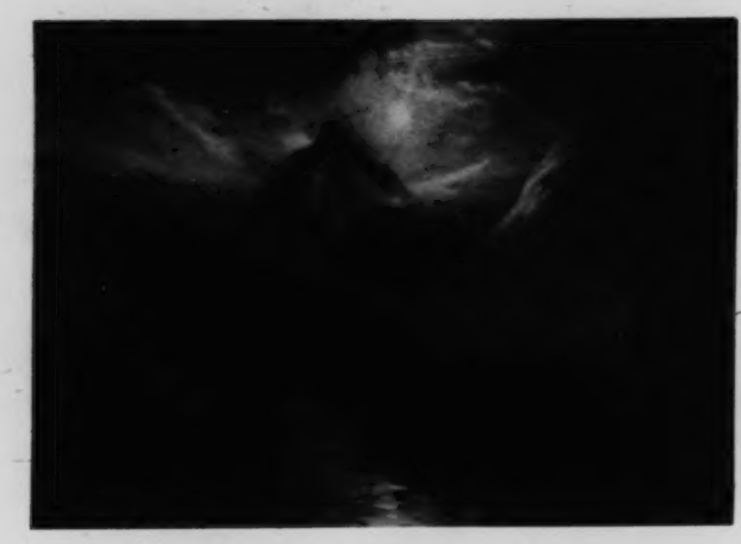


Plate 39: Emily Warren, Bow River in Moonlight, c.1920, oil on canvas, 51 x 81 cm., Collection of Mrs. Shirley Johannsen, Old Chelsea, Quebec.

Plate 40: John Pedder, Forest Fire in the Rocky Mountains, Canada, c.1887, grey wash, pen and ink, 16.1 x 26.8 cm., Public Archives of Canada.

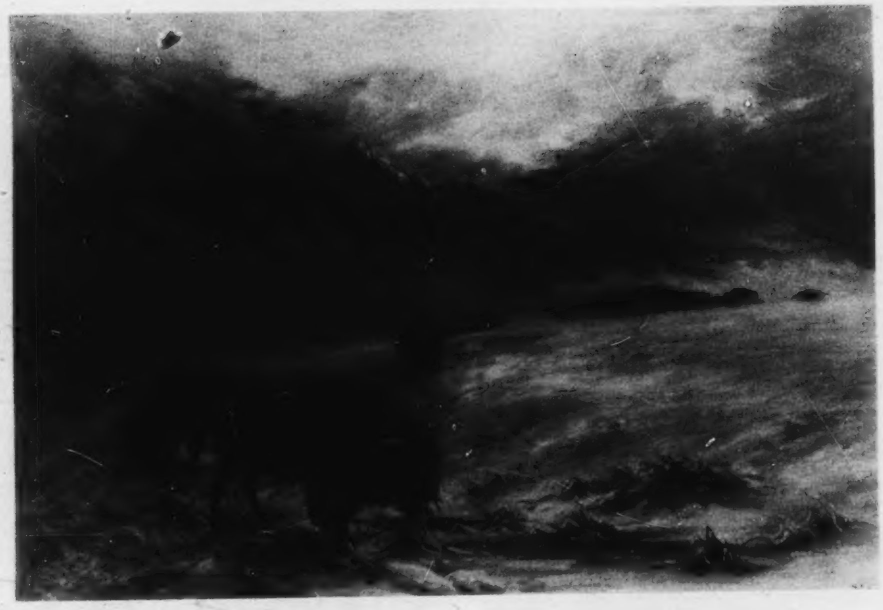


Plate 41: Frederick Verner, Buffalo Foraging in a Blizzard, 1909, oil on canvas, 97.4 x 142.2 cm., Pagurian Collection, Toronto.

Plate 42: John Innes, Scarlet and Gold, c.1920, oil on canvas, measurements not available, Hudson's Bay Company Collection, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Selkirk, Manitoba.

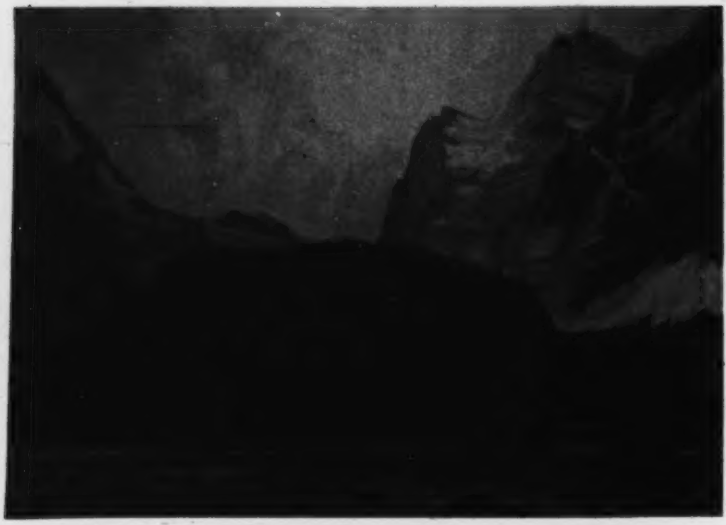


Plate 43: Charles Simpson, Lake O'Hara, n.d., illustration, 10 x 12 cm., in Betty Thornley, Canadian Pacific Rockies, (n.p., c.1930).

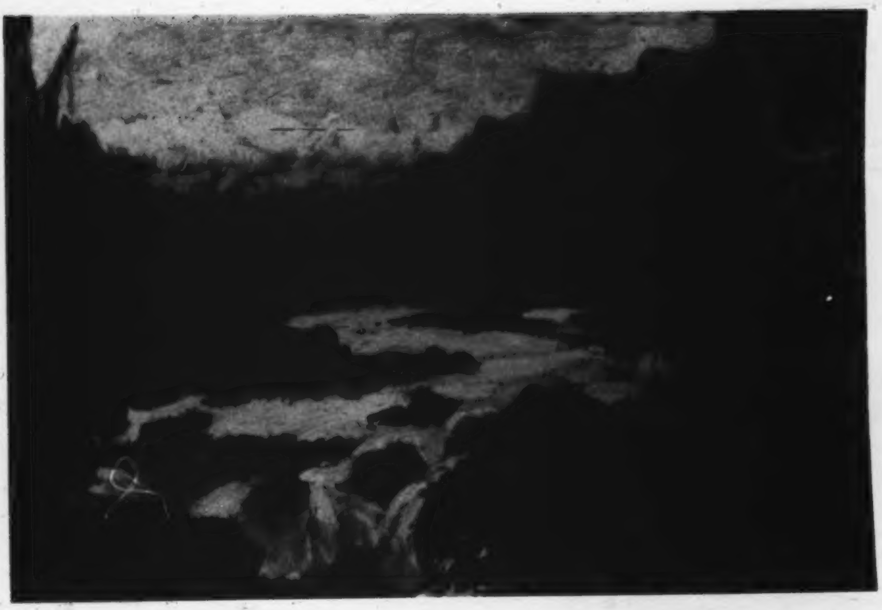


Plate 44: Inglis Sheldon-Williams, In the Rocky Mountains, c.1914, oil on panel, 15.3 x 21.7 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 45: Augustus Kenderdine, Mount Robson, 1924, oil on canvas, 34.3 x 40.6 cm., Collection of Mrs. Ishbel Cochrane, Mount Robson, B.C.

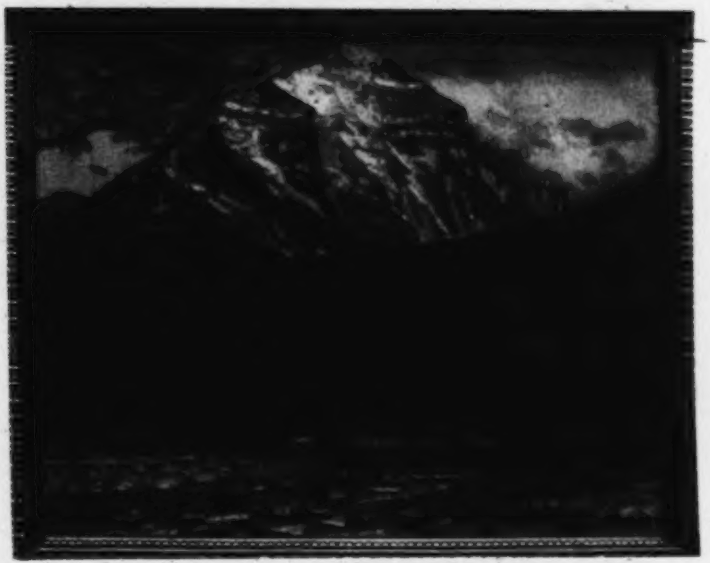


Plate 46: Lars Haukaness, Mount Temple, c.1922-29, oil on canvas, 24 x 30 cm., University Collections, University of Alberta.

Plate 47: Henry J. de Forest, Lake Louise, 1908, oil on canvas, 64.2 x 104.1 cm., Public Archives of British Columbia.

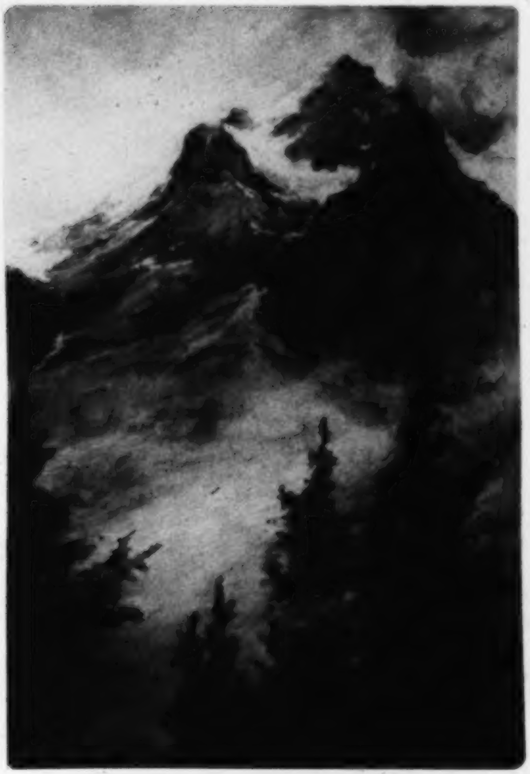


Plate 48: Alice Blair Thomas, Mt. Sir Donald, 1908, oil on board, 29.5 x 19 cm., Art Gallery of Greater Victoria.

Plate 49: Mary R. Hamilton, Mount Rundle, Banff, c.1912, oil on board, 40.5 x 27.4 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 50: Homer Watson, Canadian Rockies, n.d., oil on board, 23.8 x 34.3 cm., Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Donald Grace, Calgary.

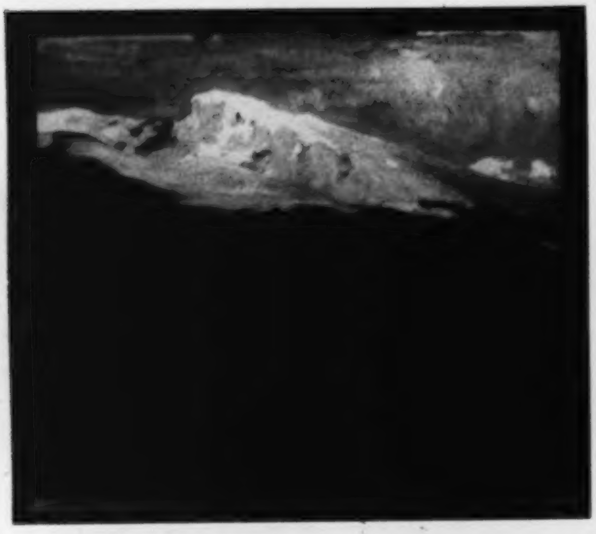


Plate 51: J.W. Beatty, Evening at Jasper, 1915, oil on canvas, 89.5 x 102.8 cm., Winnipeg Art Gallery.

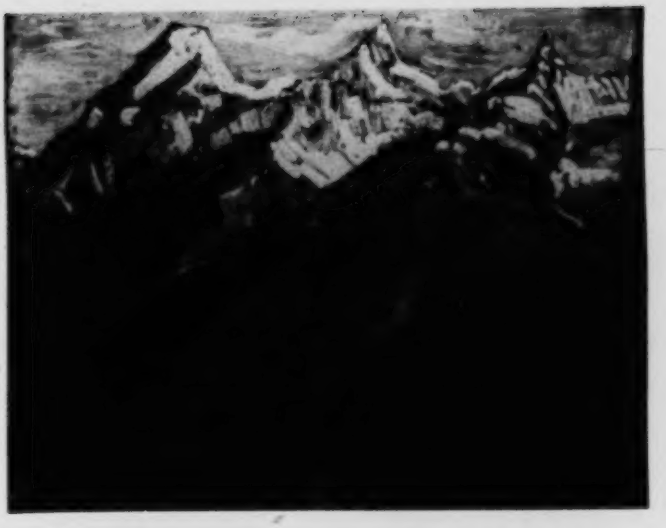


Plate 52: A.Y. Jackson, Mt. Robson [sic], 1914, oil on board, 21.6 x 26.7 cm., McMichael Conservation Collection, Kleinburg, Ontario. (This painting appears to have been incorrectly titled).

Plate 53: Carl Rungius, Three Rams, 1911, oil on canvas, 66.3 x 97 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 54: Carl Rungius, White Mountain Goats, 1919, oil on canvas, 152.4 x 190.5 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 55: Belmore Browne, Mt. Rundle, Banff, n.d., oil on canvas, 76.2 x 101.9 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

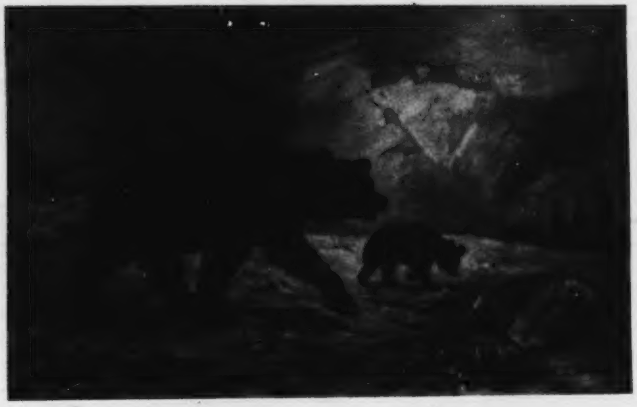


Plate 56: Norah Drummond-Davis, Grizzly Bears Below Mt. Rundle, n.d., oil on canvas, 117.5 x 186 cm., Kelowna Museum, Kelowna, B.C.

Plate 57: Roland Gissing, Mountain Landscape, 1926, oil on panel, 39 x 46.9 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 58: Adeline Baxter, Three Sisters, c.1917, watercolour, 11.9 x 16.8 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 59: Arthur Hutton, Yamnuska Mountain, n.d., watercolour, 26.9 x 36.2 cm., Alberta Art Foundation.

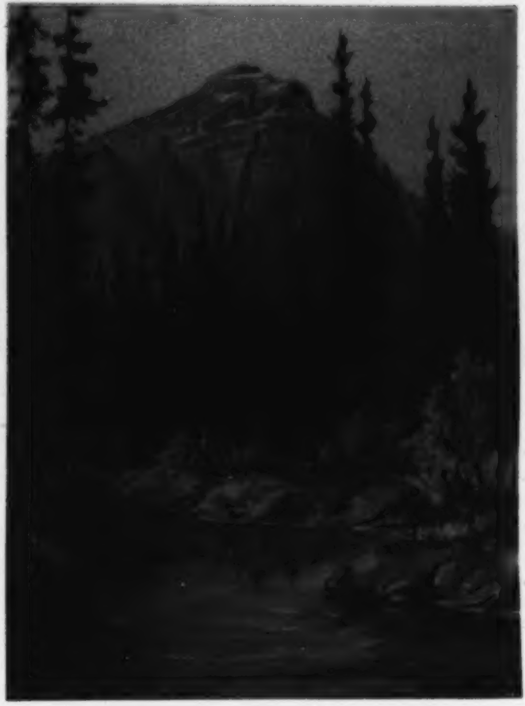


Plate 60: Reginald Harvey, River of the Mountain, n.d., watercolour, 33.8 x 27.3 cm., Glenbow Museum, Calgary.

Plate 61: William Johnstone, Mt. Robson, 1924, watercolour, 55.2 x 43.8 cm., University Collections, University of Alberta.

Plate 62: Robert Campbell, *The Bridge, Athabasca Falls*, n.d., watercolour, 16 x 23 cm., Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Allan Campbell.